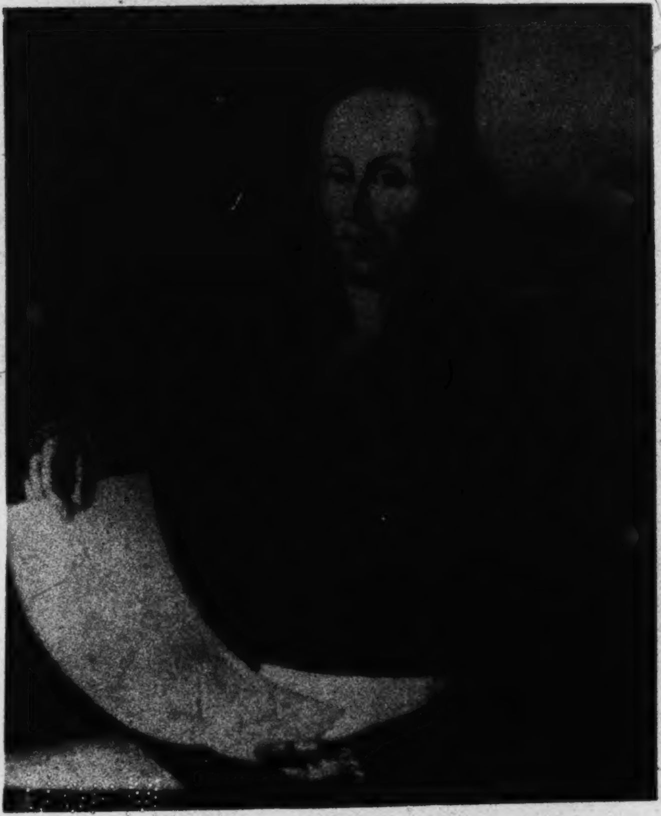
XEROX

Xerox University Microfilms
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

WESTERN
AMERICANA

Reproduced from the original in the collection of
THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN LIBRARIES

THE SPANISH RÉGIME IN MISSOURI



From a History of Louisiana, by Alcée Fortier.
By permission of Manzi, Joyant & Co., Paris and New York.

CARONDELET

THE
SPANISH RÉGIME
IN
MISSOURI

A COLLECTION OF PAPERS AND DOCUMENTS RELATING TO UPPER
LOUISIANA PRINCIPALLY WITHIN THE PRESENT LIMITS OF MISSOURI
DURING THE DOMINION OF SPAIN, FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE
INDIES AT SEVILLE, ETC., TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL
SPANISH INTO ENGLISH, AND INCLUDING ALSO SOME
PAPERS CONCERNING THE SUPPOSED GRANT TO COL.
GEORGE MORGAN AT THE MOUTH OF THE OHIO,
FOUND IN THE CONGRESSIONAL LIBRARY

EDITED AND WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES,
BIOGRAPHICAL AND EXPLANATORY

BY LOUIS HOUCK

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME II

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
R. R. DONNELLEY & SONS COMPANY
1909

Copyrighted, 1909
by
LOUIS HOUCK

The Lakeside Press
R. R. DONNELLEY & SONS COMPANY
CHICAGO

CONTENTS

PAGE

LXX. The Exclusive Trade among the Ponkas Granted to Munier, 1793 1

LXXI. The Arrest of Mitchel, 1793 4

LXXII. Extracts from a Report of Carondelet as to the Situation and Military Condition of Louisiana, and How the Province can be Protected and Defended, 1793 9

LXXIII. Carondelet Reports on Danger of an American Settlement at the Ecores Á Margot, 1793 15

LXXIV. Letter of Carondelet to Robertson, Danger of Furnishing Cannons to Indians, 1793 . 21

LXXV. Threatened Invasion of Louisiana by Americans, Inspired by French Agents under Gen. George Rogers Clark, 1794 23

LXXVI. Miro Appoints Don Benito Vasquez Captain of Militia, 1784 29

LXXVII. Officers of the Militia of St. Charles and Florissant, 1793 30

LXXVIII. Commissions Issued to Militia Officers of Spanish New Madrid, 1792, 1795, 1797 33

LXXIX. Official Letters of Louis Lorimier, 1787–1793 42

LXXX. Officers of the Ste. Genevieve Militia Appointed by Carondelet, 1794 40

LXXXI. Journal of Lorimier during the Threatened Genet Invasion of Louisiana, 1793–1795 . 59

LXXXII. A Fort among the Troublesome Osages, 1795 . 100

LXXXIII. New Settlements at Las Barrancas Á Margot and Relation with the Chickasaw Indians, 1795 111

LXXXIV. Rumors as to Las Barrancas Á Margot, 1795 . 119

LXXXV. Don Carlos Howard Appointed Military Commander of Upper Louisiana, 1796 122

LXXXVI. Expedition under Don Carlos Howard to Upper Louisiana, 1796 123

LXXXVII. Plan to Defend St. Louis — The Marking of the Boundary Line between the Spanish Floridas and United States Exasperates Indians, 1796 133

213549

LXXXVIII. General Census of 1796 140
LXXXIX. Scheme to Found a State on the Mississippi North of the Missouri 144
XC. The Spanish Commercial Exploration Company, Organized by St. Louis Merchants, 1794 148
XCI. Instructions Given by Clamorgan and Riehle Approved by Lieutenant-Governor Trudeau to Jean Baptiste Trudeau in Command of the First Expedition of the Company . . 164
XCII. Clamorgan's Report of the Operations of the Commercial Company, 1795 173
XCIII. Additional Powers Granted the Commercial Company 179
XCIV. Mackay's Journal of a Voyage up the Missouri toward the South Sea, 1794 181
XCV. Memorial of the Merchants of St. Louis to Revoke the Monopoly of the Commercial Company and Reply to Same 194
XCVI. Accounts of Don Pedro Foucher as Commandant of New Madrid, for Construction of Fort Celeste 209
XCVII. The Senior Colonel Don Carlos Howard, 1797 218
XCVIII. Episcopal Report for 1797 220
XCIX. Church of St. Louis, 1798 222
C. Threatened Attack by the English on St. Louis and Upper Louisiana — Plans for Defence, 1797 225
CI. Petition of Don Carlos DeLassus Asking Transfer to the Louisiana Regiment, 1794, and for Promotion, 1797 239
CII. Mackay Appointed Commandant of San Andres 245
CIII. Trudeau's Report Concerning the Settlements of the Spanish Illinois Country, 1798 247
CIV. Suspected Danger of an Attack on St. Louis and New Madrid, 1798 259
CV. Inventory of the Civil Archives of St. Louis, 1799 261
CVI. List of Documents Delivered to DeLassus by Trudeau, Report of Experts of Condition of Forts at St. Louis, and Inventory of Same, 1799 264
CVII. Inventory of the Civil and Military Archives of New Madrid, 1799 273

CVIII. INSTRUCTIONS TO DON ROBERT MCCOY OF NEW MADRID, 1799 280
CIX. FEAR OF ENGLISH INVASION OF UPPER LOUISIANA AND AMERICAN INVASION OF UPPER LOUISIANA, 1800 285
CX. PATRIOTIC CONTRIBUTIONS AND LOANS MADE BY THE RESIDENTS OF UPPER LOUISIANA TO AID SPAIN IN THE WAR, 1799 292
CXI. GREAT COUNCIL BETWEEN DELASSUS AND THE OSAGES, 1800 301
CXII. PRESENTS TO THE OSAGE INDIANS 308
CXIII. BOUNDARY BETWEEN THE NEW MADRID AND CAPE GIRARDEAU DISTRICTS 313
CXIV. EXPEDITION TO NEW MADRID TO PUNISH MASKOUS, 1803 318
CXV. THE SERVICES AND MERITS OF DON LOUIS LORIMIER 322
CXVI. THE SERVICES OF DON PEDRO ROUSSEAU, COMMANDANT OF GALLEYS ON THE MISSISSIPPI . 323
CXVII. THE SERVICES OF DON ANTONIO SOULARD . . 327
CXVIII. TRANSFER OF NEW MADRID, 1804 331
CXIX. REPORT OF THE VALUATION OF ROYAL BUILDINGS IN NEW MADRID, CAMPO DE LA ESPERANZA AND AKANSAS, &c. 336
CXX. ARTILLERY, SUPPLIES, FURNITURE AND FLATBOATS OF UPPER LOUISIANA DELIVERED TO THE SPANISH AUTHORITIES AT NEW ORLEANS, 1805 . . . 344
CXXI. THE BOUNDARY OF LOUISIANA ON THE UPPER MISSOURI AND MISSISSIPPI UNDER THE CESSION 355
CXXII. STATISTICAL CENSUS OF STE. GENEVIEVE AND DISTRICTS 365
CXXIII. STATISTICAL CENSUS OF ST. LOUIS AND ITS DISTRICTS, 1791 373
CXXIV. STATISTICAL CENSUS OF MARAMAC AND PLATTIN CREEK 387
CXXV. STATISTICAL CENSUS OF ST. CHARLES AND ITS DISTRICTS 388
CXXVI. STATISTICAL CENSUS OF NEW MADRID OF 1797 393
CXXVII. STATISTICAL CENSUS OF CAPE GIRARDEAU FOR 1803 403
CXXVIII. PHOTOGRAPH COPY OF THE SUMMARY OF THE GENERAL STATISTICAL CENSUS OF UPPER LOUISIANA OF 1800, MADE BY DELASSUS 414

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

CARONDELET . . . . *Frontispiece*
MANUEL GAYOSO DE LEMOS 219

THE SPANISH RÉGIME IN MISSOURI

LXX

THE EXCLUSIVE TRADE AMONG THE PONKAS GRANTED TO MUNIER — 1793

General Archives of the Indies, Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

Munié's petition:]

SIR GOVERNOR AND INTENDANT GENERAL:

Juan Munié,[1] citizen of the village of San Luis de Ylinoa, and trader of the Misury river in that jurisdiction, with due respect to Your Lordship, declares: that when Captain Don Manuel Perez was civil and military commandant of those settlements, the supplicant discovered the Ponkas tribe, located on the upper part of the above named river; and that about four-hundred leagues from the above named settlements, at the cost of many dangers, difficult labors, and exorbitant expenses, and with no less sufferings, he opened up and established with that tribe a trade, which possessed not only the advantages of having them peaceful and well-inclined to the royal Spanish domination by making them understand who was the Great Monarch of the Spains, the mildness of his government, and the especial favor with which he looks upon and treats the Indians, but also the fact that the traders who go up to their neighborhood to trade with them are able to do it with greater security. From this results an unfailing and considerable benefit to the trade of the above-mentioned settlements. By virtue of that, and as the supplicant designs to discover other more remote tribes for the increase of the above-mentioned trade, and in order to succeed in preventing them from continuing to live in that barbarity to which they are accustomed, as an indemnification for the exorbitant expenses which he has had, of the great expense which he will have to expend and risk, and of the small capital for his aid, he petitions Your Lordship to be so good as to grant him the exclusive trade with said Ponka tribe for ten years, as well as the trade with the other tribes whom he may discover. In proof of the fact that he was the first to discover and pacify the above-mentioned Ponka tribe, besides that which can be certified by the above-mentioned Captain Don Manuel Perez, he duly presents to Your Lordship the subjoined document, at the bottom of which is a certification given by various persons, to whom all that he has said is well known.

---

[1] A Jean Munier lived in Kaskaskia, but his name does not appear in the St. Louis Archives. But a Jean B. Monier married Marie Louis Lalanda in St. Louis in 1795, and may be the "Munié" above named.

He petitions Your Lordship to be so good as to grant him this favor which he hopes that he merits by the approval of Your Lordship. Nueva Orleans, September 16, 1793. For the party,

MARCOS RIVERO (rubric).

Carondelet's decree:]

Nueva Orleans, September 17, 1793. Let Captain Don Manuel Perez report what he knows and what is evident to him in regard to the petition and request of the supplicant.

BARON DE CARONDELET (rubric).

Perez's report:]

SIR GOVERNOR-GENERAL:

By decree of the 17th of the current month, Your Lordship was pleased to decree on the memorial presented by Juan Munié, a citizen of the village of San Luis de Ylinua, that I inform Your Lordship of what I know and of what is evident to me in regard to the declaration and request made by the above-mentioned Juan Munié. In fulfilment of the said order, I must inform Your Lordship that I am quite certain that the said Juan Munié is the person who discovered the Ponka tribe on the upper Missoury in the year 1789; for I granted him a license to go hunting on said river. He having penetrated farther then he believed [possible] discovered that tribe unknown till then, in Ylinoa. On his return, he informed me of his discovery, and what had happened to him among those Indians by whom he had been very well received. They were very well pleased over his arrival at the tribe, for he made them understand as much as he declares in his memorial in regard to the Spanish nation. He gave me a peace-pipe which he told me had been given to him by the chief in order that he might give it to me. The chief requested me to send him annually some Spaniard with merchandise in order to trade. On that account, I permitted said Juan Munié to go up the same river the following year, in order to trade with that tribe. I gave him a banner to give to the chief, whom he was to tell that I sent it to him in token of my great esteem for his tribe, and that I recognized them as my children. He told me on his return that they had received that banner gladly, and that by this means we were assured of the friendship of those Indians toward the Spaniards, and the continuance of their trade, because of the advantages which result from it in favor of those Indians. Since they owe this benefit to the justness of the above-mentioned Juan Munié, as the first discoverer of the Ponkas tribe, and in consideration of the fact that he had carried himself so well, I allowed him, during the two following years of my residence at that post, to continue his trade with the same tribe, considering him entitled to it, as he had always borne himself well. I also consider the above-mentioned Juan Munié very capable, on account of his intelligence, of being able to make some other discoveries which may be of great utility to the trade of that district especially. Will Your Lordship consider it advisable to grant him the favor which he petitions for what time may be agreeable to Your Lordship. Nueva Orleans, September 19, 1793.

MANUEL PEREZ (rubric).

Petition granted:]

In consideration of the good services and conduct of Juan Meunier [*sic*], habitant of the settlement of Ylinoa, and of the good reports which the Captain of the regiment of Luisiana, Don Manuel Perez, has given me, concerning that individual, by informing me of the reality of his having discovered, as he represents, the Indian tribe of the Poncas, at a distance of four hundred leagues from the mouth of the Misury: I have determined to grant him, as he requests, the exclusive trade of said tribe for the term of four years, which shall begin to run from the beginning of next year 1794. Consequently, I order the commandant of said settlement not to hinder him in his going to, stay with, and return from, said tribe. The present given at Nueva Orleans, September 21, 1793.

BARON DE CARONDELET (rubric).

LXXI

THE ARREST OF MITCHEL — 1793

General Archives of the Indies, Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

Secret. No. 8:

I send on to Your Lordship, in charge of Don Pedro Rousseau, commandant of the squadron of galleys, the person of Don Midad Mitchel, who was sent to me from Nuevo Madrid by the commandant of that post, Don Tomás Portell, and of whom I have spoken to Your Lordship.

I kept this man here in order to sound his way of thinking, and to have a basis for informing Your Lordship of my opinions in reference to him. In spite of the grounds which I had for distrusting his behavior, and for suspecting him to be in the employ of the United States [reading *considerable* instead of the *considerado* of the transcript, as seems to be necessary], still, since he had shown his skill in map-drawing in Nuevo Madrid, had viewed the whole extent of the river in his voyage hither, and had inevitably seen the making of the map executed by Don Pedro Rousseau, I employed him in taking a copy of it, which is the same that I send Your Lordship. I kept him constantly engaged in conversations such as to put him in a position to exhibit his way of thought. I found that he has talent, insight, and an enterprising character, but great levity in putting himself forward and in expressing his opinion on questions of the highest consequence.

His feelings are prompt and are not concealed by dissimulation, even though he desires to practice it: for his youth is such that he has not acquired the command of his actions. He is clever in the execution of maps, and works with the greatest ease. He has ambition, and to satisfy it is capable of undertaking anything whatever. He is supremely susceptible to resentment, and if he believes himself wronged, is capable of employing any means to avenge himself.

He had the good fortune to be taken at the age of fifteen under the protection of Baron de Steuben, a man well known in the United States, who treated him as his own son, and gave him a military education qualifying him to obtain credit in the service. Since the independence of the United States, he has been employed in the capacity of surveyor by the state of Nueva York. Later he has been successively agent, commissary, and chief surveyor of the Company of the Cioto. But when that company failed, he was commissioned to sail in the pilot boat, with the greatest possible expedition, from Nueva York to England, in order to reach there before the post with the news of the failure of the company, to negotiate the acceptance of fifty thousand pesos of bills of exchange drawn by the Society of Manufactures [*Soceidad de Manufacturas*] against the Company of the Cioto, the president of both being Colonel Duer. He fulfilled his commission in England, but on his return to Nueva Yorck, they did not carry out their promises to him. For spite he resolved to do all he could to destroy the settlement at Galipoly, making use for this end of the protection of Captain Wooster, who gave him a copy of the advantages received in this province by immigrants to it. I know as a fact that he presented himself with this document in Galypoly, and offered the inhabitants there means of coming to this province which he did not possess. Yet some who could pay their own expenses reached Nuevo Madrid at the same time with him, for which he takes the credit to himself. At the said post the Commandant, either on good grounds, or on account of false charges brought against him out of jealousy by his rivals, expelled him immediately. Indeed, he went away in a vessel to the Ohio, where he was shipwrecked; and having no other way of saving himself, he made his way down on a raft which he built, and with the greatest peril returned to Nuevo Madrid. Here he was tolerated for a time; but new complaints being made to the commandant, and the fresh offence of drawing maps being added to the others, the said commandant had him arrested, finding in his possession the two maps which Don Pedro Rousseau will hand to Your Lordship.

When I asked Mitchell what reason he had for drawing the map aforesaid, he assured me that he had made it only to display his skill and to give it to the Commandant of the post of Nuevo Madrid, so that being recommended in this way, he might receive permission to follow the business of surveyor. The map, he affirmed, was only a copy of the printed one enclosed. When I answered that in his the posts of Nuevo Madrid, San Luis, Miseria, Cahokia, and Kaskaskias were marked, while they were not in the other, and that this looked as if his intentions were something more than to copy the printed map, he satisfied me that he had done this on the voyage hither from Nuevo Madrid to show Don Pedro Rousseau the position of these posts on the map; and this part of what he says is true.

One of the reasons, as I know for his acquaintance with the region opposite Misury is that being surveyor of the Company of Cioto, in which he was a shareholder — [the position of surveyor] is one of the highest standing in the United States, President Washington himself having been one — he had the commission of measuring a million acres of land in American Ylinoa. Yet he secretly had the additional commission of soliciting the useful inhabitants of the neighboring settlements to come and settle in a town that the Company of the Cioto proposed to establish opposite Misury, intending to attract to it all the trade of that region, to the damage of the trade of Canada. They designed to protect the trade with armed vessels on the Ylinua river and the Ouisconsino,[1] and promised many advantages to the region, for the Company alone was to sell at wholesale to the traders, at the ordinary prices in Philadelphia. He took some steps, though without declaring himself, and before he had completed his task, he had to take a hasty flight from the Indians. When he got back to Philadelphia, Colonel Duer had failed for half a million pesos, and all those ideas came to an end.

The said Mitchel was working in this way in my house for a week, in which time I obtained all this information from him. He manifested perfect content, and was desirous to be employed by our government in the survey of the upper waters of this river, or in anything else of the kind in which the government should see fit to engage him.

To find out the impression made upon him by political news, I told him one day that England had declared war against France. He exclaimed: "Then we shall have Canada!" and from that time I observed that he was extremely thoughtful. Forgetting he had promised me that when he had finished the map of the river which I sent Your Lordship he would make another as finely finished as possible, to show his skill, he stated to me that he wished to go to Bayou Pierre to Colonel Bruyno's house, and to take along a French grammar, in order to apply himself to this language for some months. I noticed that he had with him a gun that he had prepared and a camping outfit for his journey. He was finishing the map referred to, and marked out on it the way from here to the said Bayou Pierre. When I saw that he was informing himself of his direction with too much attention, I became suspicious; and I directed Don Antonio Soler, who was in my house, not to lose sight of him, to accompany him to his tent, and when there to notify him that he was under arrest; and then to assign a sentinel to watch him, which was done. On the road to the fort, while he was still ignorant of his destination, he asked Soler if the Chicacha tribe was far off, to which Soler gave a vague reply.

---

[1] Wisconsin.

He has been kept since then under the said arrest, manifesting the greatest restlessness, which I have constantly endeavored to dissipate, to the end of acquiring his confidence, and of getting him to state to me what he knows, but his stories have never varied.

I told him it was necessary for him to deliver to me all his papers, and had his little baggage registered by Don Jose Vidal, Secretary of this Province, who found only a few private letters addressed to him, and some others by him addressed to his friends.

In the former I found a few things that may bear a double sense; but I send Your Lordship in especial, separately and enclosed herewith, a letter signed by T. F. Halsted, in which there appears to be some mystery in the reference to his friend Payne (he is the same of whom I have spoken to Your Lordship) and to an urgent piece of business, which if not concluded immediately, will not permit him to go down the river during the Autumn, and in other particular points, mingled with trifles, all of which Your Lordship may consider.

The letters which he wrote to several friends tend to discourage them from coming to settle here, though he speaks no ill of the government. It is worth notice that though he boasts of having come to this province to avenge himself, and with the desire of bringing many people here, and especially the whole population of Galipoly, he should write from here in these terms.

The said letters, excepting the one appended, go in the map which Don Pedro Rousseau will hand to Your Lordship.

As to the whole matter, Your Lordship will be able with the information which you have obtained from Payne to form a judgment of the man Mitchel. In my opinion he is an inconsistent fellow of ability, and I believe that something of value may be got out of him. I think very likely his intention was to acquire a knowledge of this region in order by it to advance his fortune in the United States and I believe that perhaps he was acting at the instance of some one of importance, though not of the government. In general this is the character of the majority of the Anglo-Americans. Yet another feature of their character is that if they find an abode in another country they forget their own, and for a time usually serve with efficiency.

This man has often repeated to me his desire to be employed in this province, and to perform some service that he may deserve the confidence of Your Lordship, hoping that if you are satisfied with him you will give him an opportunity of gaining a competence, though it be for the present at a small emolument.

Since in reality, though there are grounds for suspecting him, there is nothing to verify them, unless it be by means of Payne, I believe Your Lordship will be embarrassed to know what to do with him. My opinion is that it would be well to keep him in this capital in the capacity of military drawing-master for the officers and cadets of the regiment, a post which he will accept and his conduct will be that of a man [reading *de quien* for *quien*, an apparently necessary change, corroborated by the seemingly worn state of the manuscript] who is striving to clear up his character; and so long as he does not go to the United States to [hiatus in MS.] new ideas against this region.

From Mitchel's arrival to the present, I have provided him from my table, and have treated him with the utmost consideration, so as after a time to formulate a complaint [*i. e.*, by getting thorough knowledge of him] if that should be of importance.

God preserve Your Lordship many years.

Natchez, April 18, 1793.

MANUEL GAYOSO DE LEMOS.

Addressed: "The Lord Baron de Carondelet."

LXXII

EXTRACTS FROM A REPORT OF CARONDELET AS TO THE SITUATION AND MILITARY CONDITION OF LOUISIANA — AND HOW THE PROVINCE CAN BE PROTECTED AND DEFENDED — 1793

Copied from Archivo General Central in Alcalá de Henares, Spain; Estado, Legajo 3897; from copy of Wisconsin Historical Society.

Number 129. [Extract:]

Baron de Carondelet gives detailed news of the condition and stability of Luisiana, and the respective location of its strongholds, forts, advantageous posts, etc.

YOUR EXCELLENCY:

In accordance with the order of June 16 last, by which Your Excellency ordered me to address to you with the greatest minuteness what information could be obtained of the condition and stability of Luisiana, the respective location of its strongholds, forts, and advantageous posts, and other matters, the knowledge of which is necessary in order that the plan of defense adaptable to the circumstances of this province may be examined by a Council of generals, in accordance with the will of His Majesty, I have had the accompanying map made after the most accurate plans that it has been possible to obtain since I have assumed its government. In regard to the map, all the maps printed both in England and the United States, and in France, are absolutely false, especially in regard to the course of the Misisipi and Misuri Rivers. Moreover, the settlements, both Spanish and American, that have been added since their printing cannot be located in them.

Luisiana, which extends from 29° north to more than 50° in the same latitude, comprises some thousand leagues between the mouths of the Misisipi or the ocean and the source of that river. The latter is a boundary recognized beyond all question by England in the treaty of peace of 1763 (article 6), and by virtue of which Spain can reply to the English and Americans in regard to their trade with the savage tribes who live above 44°. But I consider that the attention and efforts of Spain ought to be limited to the conservation of the dominion of the Misisipi to the river of San Pedro which is located in the same latitude. Until the increase of the population of the settlements of Ylinoa (which must yet be considered to be in their infancy), that region must not be allowed to compete with the English of Canada, and especially with the Americans, who, advancing with incredible rapidity toward the north and the Misisipi, will beyond doubt force Spain to recognize the Misuri as their boundary within a short time. Perhaps they will even pass that river, if the plan which I have proposed to His Majesty in the confidential report of June 3 last (number 36) directed by way of the Ministry of State, is not adopted.

Supposing that Luisiana did not extend farther than to the Misuri, a glance at the map would suffice to convince one of its importance with respect to the conservation of the interior provinces of New Spain and of the Kingdom of Mexico, which are surrounded by the Misisipi and Misuri Rivers from the gulf [of Mexico] almost to the South Sea. At least from the reports of various traders and travelers who have lately gone up the Misuri to the savage tribes, of whom we have scarcely any information, it must be inferred that this river, vast and navigable in all its parts, takes its rise a short distance from a chain of very lofty mountains, which are located only forty leagues from the South Sea. And it is even supposed that at the foot of the same mountains is found another large and navigable river which empties into the above-named sea.[1] I hope that we shall have news of this same particular soon through the efforts of the association of explorers which has just been formed in San Luis de Ylinoa, and by virtue of the reward that I have promised to him who penetrates by way of the Misuri to the above-mentioned sea, and brings accurate news of the situation and strengths of the Russian establishments, in case that they approximate to that part of the coast.

When France ceded Luisiana to Spain, that is, in the year [17]62, Luisiana included only sixty leagues along the east shore of the Misisipi from its mouths to Iberbile, and on the west, one thousand, from the same mouths to the little-known source of the same river.

The total population of Luisiana scarcely reached 17,000 souls; its commerce to some six craft; its products to indigo and furs. Consequently, Luisiana, under the French dominion, was almost a cipher; and although its inhabitants did some smuggling in the gulf (the only business from which they could derive any profit capable of exciting their cupidity), since France was so clearly allied to Spain, they did not dare to penetrate into the provinces of the interior, nor likewise to smuggle so extensively by sea that it would excite the complaints of the Spanish.

---

[1] A rumor of the existence of the Columbia river seems even then to have prevailed among the Spanish officials at New Orleans.

By the cession of this province, the French were deprived of a territory which the nearness of the English and the rivalry of their trade made them despair of profiting from and conserving, and whose possession the covetousness of their governors and employes made especially burdensome to them.

At the time of the cession and as long as the English kept dominion over what now constitutes the United States of America, Luisiana did not merit any special attention from the Spanish government; for the English, satisfied with the numerous countries which they possessed on this continent, as well as with the profitable smuggling afforded them by the navigation of the Misisipi and the lakes as far as their settlements of Manchak, Baton-rouge, and Natchez, never thought of penetrating the provinces of the interior, and by their industry and smuggling maintained the province in the same condition of inactivity and poverty as before, so that its income did not exceed 115,000 pesos.

The revolution of North America, and the conquest of the forts of Manchak, Baton-rouge, Natchez, Movila, (Mobile), and Panzacola, entirely inverted the order of things on this continent. From the peace, Spain acquired an immense country, which extends from San Luis de Ylinoa to the end of Florida, a distance of more than 692 leagues; a territory in Luisiana, rich, fertile, watered by innumerable navigable rivers which empty into the sea, and, consequently, fitted for a very vast cultivation and trade. Indigo, of a grade inferior to that of Guatemala, but superior to that of Caracas; cotton of excellent quality, although of small quantity; sugar-cane for molasses; rice of superior quality; maize; masts; and woods: these are the products of Lower Luisiana. Wheat, capable of supplying our islands in time; tobacco, equal to that of Virginia; maize, barley; salt-meat; the finest of furs, which are most abundant; lead-mines, with outcroppings on the surface are the products of Upper Luisiana. The population of both Lower and Upper Luisiana consists now of 40,000 industrious and warlike people, for whose trade and support not one hundred ships per year suffice.

So many advantages are counterbalanced by the unmeasured ambition of a new people, who are vigorous, hostile to all subjection, and who have been uniting and multiplying in the silence of peace, and almost ignored, with a remarkable rapidity from the time of the recognized independence of the United States until the present time. *Their beginnings* were those warriors to whom were apportioned the uncultivated lands of Kentucky and those along the shores of the Ohio as a reward for their services during the war of independence. The fertility of the lands, the freshness of the climate, the pleasant navigation of the Ohio and the Misisipi, the spirit of insubordination, and the revolutions of Europe, attracted so many people upon the Kentucky and west of the Allegheny and Appalachian Mountains, that the vast territory which was uninhabited in the year 1780, now includes three states and various settlements, whose total population exceeds 50,000 people capable of bearing arms; and this number is being increased annually by more than 10,000 European emigrants.

This vast and restless population, driving the Indian tribes continually before them and upon us, is endeavoring to gain all the vast continent occupied by the Indians between the Ohio and Misisipi Rivers, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Appalachian Mountains. Thus they are becoming our neighbors, while at the same time, they are clamoring threateningly for the free navigation of the Misisipi. If they obtain their purpose, their ambition will not be limited to this part of the Misisipi. Their writings, and their public papers and speeches, all have as their object the navigation to the Gulf by way of the rivers Misisipi, Movila, Perla,[3] and Apalachicola, which empty into the Gulf; the rich fur-trade of the Misuri; and in time the possession of the rich mines of the interior provinces of the very kingdom of Mexico. Their method of extension and their policy are as much to be feared by Spain as their arms. Every new settlement, when it has once reached a population of 30,000 souls, forms a state, which is added to the United States so far as reciprocal protection is concerned, but which is governed by itself and imposes its own taxes. The wandering spirit, and the ease with which these people procure their support and shelter, form new settlements readily. A carbine and a little cornmeal in a sack is sufficient for an American to range the forests alone for a month. With his carbine he kills wild cattle and deer for food, and protects himself from the savages. Having dampened the cornmeal, it serves in lieu of bread. He erects a house by laying some tree trunks across others in the form of a square; and even a fort impregnable to the savages, by building on a story crosswise above the ground floor. The cold does not fright him, and when a family grows tired of one place, it moves to another, and establishes itself there with the same ease. Thus in the space of eight years has been formed the settlement of Cumberland, which is about to be declared a state.

---

[3] Pearl river.

If such men become settlers on the shore of the Misisipi and of the Misuri, or obtain the navigation of those rivers, there is no doubt that they cannot be prevented from crossing those rivers and penetrating our provinces on the other side. Our provinces there being in great measure abandoned [unpopulated] cannot oppose any obstacle to them. But even if they did not do that, who can be sure that the few inhabitants of those provinces will not unite willingly and eagerly with men who, offering them their aid and protection to become independent, to govern themselves, and to impose their own taxes, will flatter them with the spirit of liberty, and with a trade, free, extensive, and lucrative, etc.? In my opinion, a general revolution in America threatens Spain, if that country does not hasten forcibly and promptly to apply the remedy. I know that since Spain is entangled in so troublesome a war, it can but ill attend to this object, although it is so important. But since the evil is yet in its infancy, I consider that a provisional remedy, which will remove to a greater distance the effects of the damage, can be applied until such less troubleous times come that will permit it to be radically cured.

I have shown clearly in my several letters addressed to his Excellency, Duke de la Alcudia, that the entire power of the Atlantic states is insufficient to subject those of the West, who are resolved to procure the navigation of the Misisipi by force, and to separate from the first in case that they try to oppose their object, and to declare themselves independent or to unite with Canada. I have shown the moral impossibility of Spain being able to attack the Kentuckians and other western settlements in their country. But at the same time I have proposed the means by which Luisiana can be sheltered from their attempts, and by which all their possessions can be devastated by means of the Indian tribes who are our allies — the Chactas, Chicachás, Criks, and Cheroquíes — who, fearful of the invasion of the Americans, will always, whenever incited by presents and arms, be ready to wage the most destructive kind of war.

By means of two full Spanish regiments, in addition to the established force of the province, 150 artillerymen, the six galleys and two galliots which we have, well manned, and with one hundred thousand pesos' increase annually to the department of the Indies for the purchase of arms, ammunition, and the presents which will be necessary in order to employ the tribes with efficacy, I will answer for Luisiana and the exclusive possession of the Misisipi River for Spain, in spite of all the power and all the forces of the American States, whether united or separate from the Atlantic States. But in order to do that, the defenses of Nuevo Madrid and Nogales must be increased quickly with earthworks until his Majesty resolves upon the construction of those which I shall propose individually at once.

Having made those provisional preparations, if war be proposed to Kentucky and the other western settlements with one hand, and peace with the other, under the conditions explained in the confidential report which I directed to his Excellency, the duke of Alcudia (number 36), I am persuaded that the tempest which threatens Luisiana and the other Spanish possessions of America, will be dissipated for some years; and forever, if the plan of free trade with all friendly nations which I proposed in the same report, be approved. Since it is evident that in a few years, Luisiana will equal or perhaps surpass the American western states in fertility, cultivation, trade, and wealth, Spain will find in the inhabitants of Luisiana an active force composed of warlike and vigorous people equally suitable for sea or land service, that could always be employed in case of war against any power whatever, except France; in the expeditions in America; and especially in the defense of the island of Cuba and the kingdom of Mexico. The royal income which has scarce reached 90,000 pesos hitherto, and perhaps will not exceed 60,000 pesos this year, as I have predicted in view of the new regulation that has been published, will furnish the expenses of the royal treasury within this province, in some ten years, in total, even should they be estimated at 700,000 pesos.

Returning to the plan of defense, which it seems to me indispensable to adopt at present, for the American Western States, prompt to unite in convention, are attempting to avail themselves of the opportunity offered them by the present war with France, in order to open up the Misisipi, I am of the opinion that our settlements from the Misuri to the settlement of Nuevo Madrid, can be protected by one regiment, by placing the first battalion in San Luis de Ylinoa, and the second in Nuevo Madrid, the two battalions dividing between themselves the forty leagues on the west bank of the Misisipi, in order to prevent with a few small detachments the raids of single bodies who might cross the river; and maintaining in the settlement of Santa Genoveva, the center of that extension, a strong detachment of both battalions, in order to restrain the settlement of Kaskaskias, which lies opposite that place. This cordon or line supported on its right by the fort of Nuevo Madrid, and on its left by that of San Luis de Ylinoa, and at its center by that of Santa Genoveva, would give sufficient time to the militia (who are all men accustomed to arms) to hasten by land to the point of attack, taking into consideration that the distance from Nuevo Madrid to San Luis can be made on horseback in four days. The savage tribes — both Chavanones, Abenaquis, Cheroquis, and the Osages — would form a second line of defense consisting of at least 1,500 men, which would allow no hostile band to penetrate. Lastly, some galleys and some small and very swift gunboats, would guard the front of the line, and the passage of the river with so much greater superiority, inasmuch as the enemy has no port on the Misisipi for the construction of boats of equal strength.

The same four galleys would guard the mouth of the Ohio where it empties into the Misisipi, by which, during the time of the high waters the enemy can descend in force with an expedition arranged on the same river, which is only ten leagues from the fort of Nuevo Madrid. If their firing would be insufficient to prevent the passage of the river, the enemy could direct themselves straight to the fort of Nogales, the possession of which would open all of Lower Luisiana as far as the capital, and would give the enemy the means of undertaking the siege of this place.

The stationing of the galleys in Nuevo Madrid, not only would render this project impossible, but exposes it to utter defeat at its entrance into the Misisipi, because of the superiority of the artillery which these boats carry and by the advantage to themselves which they could expect from a battle waged under the protection of the fire that would be poured in by troops, militia, and savages, from the west bank, without any risk on their part.

Supposing, notwithstanding, that the conflict were to be decided in favor of the enemy, the same galleys would have a safe retreat under the cannons of Nuevo Madrid, which the enemy would find it necessary to besiege. But in case that the enemy had resolved to descend to Nogales, leaving Nuevo Madrid behind, the two galleys would pursue them, and protected in the Ecores á Margot, from the fire of both banks (that is, from the fire of the Chicachás, who could occupy their heights with one thousand and more warriors while our Indians would pour in a fire on them from the opposite bank), it is clear that the enemy would be exposed to the most complete defeat.

FORT OF NUEVO MADRID

This exposition proves the essential thing, namely, the fortification of the fort of Nuevo Madrid in the most considerable manner, inasmuch as that place must be the first object of the attacks of the enemy. With a garrison of one battalion, suitable artillery, with from twelve to thirty artillerymen and two hundred militiamen, and protected by some 1,500 Indians who can harass the enemy during the siege, by occupying places in their vicinity and disturbing their workers when they go for fagots, wood, etc., that fort can resist for a long time all the forces of the enemy, and consequently allow time sufficient to unite the forces of Upper Luisiana and endeavor with them to force the enemy to raise the siege.

ECORES Á MARGOT

Supposing that the enemy were to succeed in their designs against Nuevo Madrid, if the galleys succeeded in retreating by the favor of the current of the river, they could await the enemy in the abovementioned Ecores á Margot, located forty leagues below, whose passage dominated by some heights which are prolonged to the east bank of the river for a distance of twenty leagues will be (so long as the Chicachás care to defend it) highly difficult to force, because the current necessarily carries the boats to the foot of those heights.

He who can obtain a sufficiently large piece of land from the Chicachá tribe to erect on it a fort above the height situated between the Casas and Carondelet rivers, will incontestably be master of the navigation of the Misisipi from the Nuevo Madrid to Nogales. If the hope of obtaining that settlement which has been projected by them for a long time, since they went to mark it out formerly and spared no expense in gaining the good will of the tribe, be taken from the Americans, it is clear that they will not find a site suitable for making a port along all the east bank from the Ohio to Nogales, because all that territory is submerged during the high water of the Misisipi. The Chicachá tribe, more jealous than any other in the possession of the lands, knows the importance of the Ecores á Margot; but a good present, made with finesse and in time, might surprise their consent, for which I am of the opinion that the sacrifice of 30,000 pesos would not be excessive for the attainment of the attempt and for taking away from the Americans forever their cherished hope of a port on the Misisipi.

A regular fort in Ecores á Margot, capable of supporting a garrison of one hundred men, which would be furnished by the battalion of Nuevo Madrid, would cost, taking into consideration its distance, with all its buildings, an additional 30,000 pesos.

El Baron de Carondelet (rubric).

Addressed: "The Count de Aranda."

LXXIII

CARONDELET REPORTS ON DANGER OF AN AMERICAN SETTLEMENT AT THE ECORES Á MARGOT — 1793

Copied from Archivo General Central, at Alcalá de Henares, Spain, Estado Legajo, 3897; from the copy of the Wisconsin Historical Society.

Synopsis:]

The governor of Luisiana and West Florida sends a report of the commandant of Nuevo Madrid, by which the arrangements which the Americans of the State of Cumberland are making to bribe the Chicacha Indians and induce them to break friendship with us are proven. Not being able to combat this design with real force in the present critical condition, he shows by documents the measures that he has taken in order to divert those restless inhabitants.

Confidential:]

YOUR EXCELLENCY:

By the contents of the report which accompanies number 1 of the commandant of the post of Nuevo Madrid, which is located twelve leagues below the mouth of the Ohio, Your Excellency will understand the design of the United States to form a settlement fifty leagues below at the Barrancas de Margot. They are availing themselves for that of the pretext of aiding the Chicacha nation against the Criks. The fatal consequences of such a post, which would give them a port advantageously located upon the Misisipi, are deduced in confidential report No. 26, sent to his Excellency, the count of Aranda. These same reasons have incited me to prevent them from occupying the said Barrancas, and my object would surely have been attained, since the squadron of galleys, stowing aboard whatever was necessary for the purpose, was about to sail from Natchez on that secret expedition, when I received a copy of Your Excellency's order, dated February 12 last, to prepare for war against France. That made it necessary for me to order the two galleys to descend the river, for they are so much more indispensable for the defense of the entrance of the Misisipi. For I have learned that several subjects have left the province for France for the purpose of proposing to the convention a plan for the surprise of this capital, the execution of which, as it does not require more than about eight hundred men who can be transported in three ships of war, can cause it to be adopted. It is clear that if the capital be lost, the rest of the province will be lost, and [it is a fact] that there are many partisans of France here.

Not being able to attend to two points so distant from one another with the small number of forces at my disposal, as it is impossible to ascend from La Valiza[1] to Nuevo Madrid in less than three months I have thought it best to attend to the danger nearer at hand and more apparent; and endeavor to postpone or divert the other by negotiations. Consequently, I have written to Brigadier General Robertson,[2] of the State of Cumberland,[3] the letter whose copy accompanies number 2, and I have advised the agents of his Majesty in Philadelphia of all that is passing, with the hope that they may perhaps obtain an order from Congress, commanding that state to refrain from meddling with the affairs of the Chicachas, or at least, of sending cannon to Las Barrancas, which they may afterward use to maintain themselves there with or without the consent of this nation to whom the lands belong. Your Excellency can perhaps postpone or destroy that project by more efficacious means; or his Majesty can resolve to prevent by force of arms the entrance of the Americans into the Misisipi by way of the Ohio with arms and with troops, which I consider to be possible with the five galleys that I possess. For, so long as the Americans do not obtain a port on the Misisipi where they can construct galleys, they will experience a thousand difficulties in passing the falls of the Ohio, with boats capable of fighting with ours. But in this case it would be necessary to construct three other galleys in this port to guard the entrance of La Valiza. They can be finished within three months, at an expense of six thousand pesos. Or a man-of-war carrying thirty twelve-pound cannon should be sent and placed under my orders for the defense of the river, as was done during the past war of [17]80 when his Majesty's warship "Volante" was here while the war with France was being waged.

---

[1] Balize.

[2] James Robertson was one of the pioneers of Watauga — the cradle of Tennessee — and a leading spirit in that settlement. In 1776 he was in command of the Watauga riflemen, in constant service against the Indians; in 1779 he led a party of settlers from there to the French Lick on the lower Cumberland, to settle near the present Nashville, and planted corn where that city now stands; and this settlement he maintained against the Indian attacks. He was the founder of Middle Tennessee, was Brigadier General in the United States army, Indian agent, etc. His death occurred in 1814.

[3] A name which for a time the settlers of Tennessee first gave their settlements.

Finally, I shall inform your Excellency that if the Americans obtain a setlement in Las Barrancas de Margot, not only will they soon become masters of the navigation of the Misisipi, because of the advantages that their position will give them — farther up than Nogales, Natchez, and Nueva Orleans, where they could arrive in a few days because of the rapidity of the current, while in order to ascend to Las Barrancas months would be necessary — but they would also compel Spain to give up its present right of collecting duties on all American products which are brought down to this capital by the Ohio to the Misisipi; and the Americans would exact, as they could do then, equal duties on all those products and supplies that would be brought from our settlements of Ylinoa, Nuevo Madrid, etc., when they passed before Las Barrancas. That is a passage that absolutely cannot be avoided because the Misisipi forms a whirlpool at that place, and vessels must pass within pistol-shot of the bluff that commands the river and on which the fort would be situated.

May God preserve your Excellency for many years. Nueva Orleans, May 24, 1793.

Your Excellency,

Baron de Carondelet (rubric).

Addressed: "His Excellency, Duke de la Alcudia."

LXXIV

LETTER OF CARONDELET TO ROBERTSON — DANGER OF FURNISHING INDIANS CANNON — 1793

Copied from Archivo General Central, at Alcalá de Henares, Spain; Estado, Legajo 3, 897; from copy of Wisconsin Historical Society.

Copy.

Dear Sir:

I have been informed by the commandant of the post of Nuevo Madrid of the arrival there of your eldest son and the reasons for his voyage.[1] I have approved all that he has done in regard to it, and at the same time have charged him to take great pains on all occasions that offer to please and serve your Honor.

The only concern occasioned me by the letter of Don Tomas Portell fails because of the measures taken by your Honor in acceding to the petitions of the Chicacha nation by sending to them at the same time a cannon, which although of small caliber, is a dangerous weapon in the possession of the savages, from whom the policy of both States [*i. e.*, Spain and the United States] demands that their knowledge and practice be withheld — a plan that has been observed hitherto.[2] Again the general interest demands that each power keep the Indian Nations allied to it peaceful, both among themselves and with their neighbors, and from meddling with the affairs of the latter. Such has been my course with the Cheraqui nation when several of their principal chiefs have come to me to petition my aid against the United States; and in fact, I have succeeded in getting them to suspend all hostility against the settlement of Cumberland by their authority, and against their other neighbors, whenever they did not find it necessary to take arms in their own defense, until his Majesty, in whose protection they have sought refuge, and whom they have implored, could mediate with Congress, so that that body might resolve to put bounds to the limits of both nations, and that they give no more room for altercation.

---

[1] Randolph Robertson — a son of Gen. James Robertson.

[2] Robertson gave Piomingo, the celebrated Chickasaw chief, a small 4-pound brass swivel cannon, which shortly afterwards, when the Creeks attacked the Chickasaws at Log Town greatly terrorized them and caused their signal defeat.

[The remainder of this letter (which bears date, Nueva Orleans, May 21, 1793) contains matter in regard to the Creeks, Cherokees, and Chicasaws, and their relation with the Spanish and American governments. There is nothing specific relating to Upper Louisiana. There is a mention of McGillivray, the celebrated chief of the Creek nation.]

LXXV

THREATENED INVASION OF LOUISIANA BY AMERICANS, INSPIRED BY FRENCH AGENTS UNDER GEN. GEORGE ROGERS CLARK — 1794

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

Index of the secret letters sent on this date by the Colonel of the Royal Armies, Baron de Carondelet, Political and Military Governor of the Provinces of Luisiana and West Florida, to His Excellency, Don Luis de las Casas.

Synopsis:]

No. 109. Acknowledges the receipt of the news of the shippers which His Excellency sent in his letter of March 21; and sends the news which he has received from Kentucky and Nuevo Madrid in regard to the projected expedition.

No. 110. Sends the propositions of General Jorge Clark and the expedition of the French; and two other documents relative to the hostile attempts of the same against that Province.

Nueva Orleans, April 7, 1794.

Chief Pilot-Boat, the "American Star," Captain Juan Webb.

Duplicate of June 5, with the Brigantine, "El Aguila" [*i. e.*, "The Eagle"], Captain Don Antonio Ugue.

Letter to Las Casas:]

Your Excellency:

....

I must inform Your Excellency that Monsieur La Capagne,[1] having descended last year, [17]93, from Kentuckee with very courteous letters of recommendations from General Wilkinson for me, and learning by other means that he was an intimate friend of Monsieur Sebastian,[2] the prosecuting attorney of Kentucky to whom the court empowered me to give an annual pension if necessary to attract him to the side of Spain, I considered it as very essential to gain his good-will. Having managed to investigate his mode of thought, without compromising General Wilkinson, by making much of him and inviting him to dine with me several times, I succeeded in getting him to promise me to employ his credit in gaining partisans for Spain, and in influencing the Government ot the State of Kentuckee with the desire of separating from the United States for the purpose of forming an independent alliance with Spain. That reciprocal friendship would be founded on the advantages of a trade equally profitable to both powers, and on an offensive and defensive treaty which would forever place this frontier Province of the Kingdom under shelter of the ambitious projects of the United States. We agreed before separating, that we would reciprocally make use of one cipher for the communication of secret matters; and in the case that the minds of those who are at the head of the government should be well inclined, the endeavor would be made to get them to despatch two secret agents, who could treat secretly in this city under pretext of their private business concerning this important matter.

---

[1] Michael La Cassagne — a resident of Louisville, a native of France — and a man of superior mind and broad information, but Durrett says "a dreamer." He owned large bodies of land in Louisville and his home there was surrounded by beautiful shade trees, shrubbery and flowers. Although he attempted to entail his property, all his possessions were sold and scattered for a small debt. He died in 1797.

[2] See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 338, note 13.

The letter which I enclose under No. 1 is the first which I have received from that person. Notwithstanding, that he is a native Frenchman, he may be considered as an American by inclination and in fact, since he has been settled for many years in the State of Kentuckee.

Document numbers 2, 3, 4, and 5, which accompany this letter, will perfectly inform Your Excellency of the spirit of fermentation which reigns in Kentuckee and the other western settlements. Their upheaval will be tremendous, if measures to resist it are not taken in time, or unless we work strongly and without considering expense in separating them from the Atlantic States.

The official communication of the Commandant of Nuevo Madrid, which accompanies No. 6, will inform Your Excellency of the boldness with which the enemy bear themselves in a territory which is reputed neutral, but whose inhabitants give very little proof of neutrality.

Until we know with certainty the part which will be taken by General Clark who gives himself the showy title of Mariscal de campo [*i. e.*, Field Marshal] of the French Armies and of the Revolutionary Legions on the Misisipi, the squadron of galleys will remain in Nuevo Madrid, where, according to the information which I have received from their commander, Don Pedro Rousseau, it will arrive at the end of this month, ready to attack the enemy as they leave the Ohio, whenever it can be done with decided advantage, or to keep them from passing Las Barrancas à Margot forty leagues below, if our savages promise to aid it during the action from land, and with the advantage that the river furnishes them, which absolutely commands the passage; lastly to fight on retiring, without engaging in a doubtful action until uniting with the other two galleys which are below the forts of Nogales, in case that the savages return to our opponents, as they have done several times, the last time in the conquest of Panzacola, in regard to the English, their allies.

I shall reënforce Nogales with a company as soon as the four arrive which Your Excellency announces to me, in consideration of the fact that, if General Clarck executes the plan which he has projected, of leaving the settlements and forts of Ylinoa and Nuevo Madrid behind, he will fall suddenly upon Nogales, that is, in less than ten days. Consequently the news of his attack against that post, would arrive with that of his entrance into the Misisipi, unless he were opposed by the squadron of galleys when descending. But at all events, troops cannot be sent up to Nogales from this garrison in less than one month, if the Misisipi remains as high as at present.

[The rest of this letter deals more intimately with New Orleans and Lower Luisiana, and governmental affairs, and hence is not translated.]

EL BARON DE CARONDELET (rubric).

May God, etc., Nueva Orleans, April 7, 1794.

Addressed: "His Excellency, Don Luis de las Casas."

Letter to Las Casas:]

No. 110; Secret.

YOUR EXCELLENCY:

In order that Your Excellency may recognize the weakness and want of energy of the American Government, under No. 1, I enclose a translation of the proposals published January twenty-five last by General Jorge Clark, Commander-in-chief of the French against the upper settlements of Luisiana, even after the promulgation on December 7 preceding of the edict of Brigadier Arturo St. Clair, Governor of the territory northwest of Ohio, which Your Excellency will have seen in document No. 5, of the secret letter preceding No. 109.[3]

[3] This document, as well as all those mentioned as accompanying the preceding letter are not found with it.

Number 2 contains the word of the Chicachá Chief, Ugula Yacabé to the Governor, Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, which shows the crafty intention by which the attempt is being made, either by the French or by the Americans, or perhaps by both nations at the same time, to seduce the Indians from our friendship and alliance, by preparing them beforehand with the news of the expedition.

In support of this is number 3, in which Your Excellency will find the information given to the Commissioner of the Chacta and Chicachá tribes by the Lieutenant-Colonel, Don Juan de la Villebeuvre.

I send all this to Your Excellency for your knowledge and procedure.

El Baron de Carondelet (rubric).

May God, etc., Nueva Orleans, April 7, 1794.

Addressed: "His Excellency, Don Luis de las Casas."

Clark's Proposals:]

No. 1. Translation.

Cincinnata, January 25. Jorge Clark, Esquire, Field-Marshal of the armies of France, and Commander-in-chief of the French Revolutionary Legions on the Misisipi.

Proposals

In order to recruit volunteers for the reduction of the Spanish posts of the Misisipi, for the purpose of opening the navigation and commerce of said River, and giving liberty to its inhabitants, etc.

All who take part in the expedition will have the right to one thousand acres of land; those who pledge themselves for one year, two thousand; those who serve for two years, or during the present war with France, will have three thousand acres of any vacant land that is conquered; the officers, pay in proportion, as the other French troops. According to the practices of war, all the booty taken shall be divided equally. All measures shall be taken in regular order, and it shall be arranged that the return of those who desire to leave the service shall be as easy as possible, assigning them a reasonable term on the expiration of which their pay shall cease. All shall receive their patents, according to the number of persons who present themselves at camp. Those who serve in the expedition shall have the choice, either of receiving their pay in land, or at the rate of one dollar per day. Jorge R. Clark.

Letter from Chiccasaw Chief:]

No. 2.

Translation of a paragraph of the letter of Ugula Yacabe,[4] Chief of the Great Medal of the Chicacha tribe to the Governor of Natchez, Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos.

I must inform Your Grace that, in spite of the good words that Your Grace has given me, in assuring me that you greatly loved the redmen, I have been very furious, and I have killed many people, and among them, many of those who live near the Spaniards [*i. e.*, French or Americans?], and after that they have killed many of ours. If Your Grace should see my nephew, Wailabey, descending the river with his hunt, will Your Grace inform him of these news, and that his son is among the slain.

Since Your Grace is the first who discovered the evil intentions of these people, and informed me of them, not doubting that they will come, I would desire that Your Grace place yourself in a good condition of defense, since Your Grace has cannons, ammunition, and other implements of war, etc. These men are not far from here, as I have heard from some Indians who have escaped being killed in those settlements below Cumberland, who saw them gathering and constructing boats to carry the artillery which they had there and which had just arrived. They told those Indians that they were first going to take Ylinoa and that some of them were about to go by horse overland in order that all of them might afterward descend to capture l'Ance a La Graisse and prepare there to descend the river as far as Nueba Orleans. But I have heard that they have not only the whites for enemies, but also a great number of Indians, who are settled in those places, such as the Quicapus [*i. e.*, Kickapoos] and other tribes.

February 23, 1794.

No. 3.

Relation of the news sent to Monsieur de la Villebeuv.]

The substance of a letter sent to Payemingo[5] is that in spring, when the grass is sufficiently grown to sustain the horses, the army would make its proposals to the Indians of the North, after fortifying themselves one and one-half days from their villages. If those proposals are not received, they will try to destroy them and to continue their march in order to take possession of a lake which we believe to be near the strait [Lake Michigan ?] where they are sustained by the English with ammunition and other war-supplies, in order to continue their opposition against the whites, who petition their friends the Chicachas to be ready to assist them as soon as they summon them.

---

[4] Also spelled Ugulayacabe — "The Wolf's friend" — a leader of a faction among the Chickasaws opposed to Piomingo, who was friendly to the Americans. Ugula Yacabe was paid a pension of 500 dollars by the Spaniards. Called by the American settlers "Ugly Cub."

[5] Perhaps the greatest chief of the Chickasaws, a warm personal friend of Robertson — could read and write, had a private secretary — for many years kept the Chickasaw Indians in friendly relations with the white settlers. Was assassinated by a Chickamauga warrior in 1794.

News have been given by some officers and other persons of the army to the Indians who brought this letter, that there was about to be general fight, and that after the said tribes have been conquered and the place that they have in mind has been captured in that part, they will turn their arms to this part, in order to take possession of the places where the Indians find shelter. Of those places, l'Ance a la Graisse is to be the first. After that they will continue their undertakings as far as Nueba Orleans, at the same time invading in their boats Panzacola, Movila, and the other ports of East Florida, in order to subject the Indians to immediate and sole dependence on them.

When these Indians left the army, half the said troops who were recruited in Kentucky returned, as is reported, for the lack of sustenance for their horses, and they will return when the grass is grown. The other half went to attack some small tribes of Indians. The principal body of the army, commanded by General Wain (Wayne) is to remain there, until receiving new orders from Congress. Payemingo has returned from the voyage which he made to see General Blount, who they say is to continue in his command and has just arrived from Congress. He told Payemingo that the Generals of Congress were dispersed because of sickness, and that it would be dangerous for him if he went to see them. Blount had in his possession two large sacks of money which it is inferred were for the army.

NOTE: A document in possession of the Department of Archives and History of Mississippi, and transcribed from the Archives of the Indies, states that if Clark undertakes this proposed expedition, he will leave off the intemperate use of intoxicants to which he had become habituated.

LXXVI

MIRO APPOINTS DON BENITO VASQUEZ CAPTAIN OF MILITIA — 1784

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

Commission of Don Benito Vasquez as captain of militia of the posts of Ilinoa:]

Don Estevan Miró, colonel of the infantry regiment of Luisiana, and commanding officer charged with the political and military government of this province by appointment of His Excellency, the Conde de Galvez, Lieutenant-General of the royal armies, Governor and Captain-General of the province of Luisiana and Florida Occidental, etc.

In consideration of the zeal and good qualities which I have perceived in the lieutenant of the first company of militia of the posts of Ilinoa, Don Benito Vasquez, I have decided to appoint him as captain of the Second, a position which is vacant by the death of its captain, Don Eusebio Pouri.[1] I therefore direct the officers, sergeants, corporals, and enlisted men of the royal armies and the militia of that region to hold and regard him as such captain of militia; and that all upon whom the obligation to do so may fall shall respect and obey the orders which he shall give in the royal service, either orally, or in writing, without reply, excuse, or delay, observing and causing to be observed the honors and privileges which belong and pertain to him, without any omission. These presents given, signed by my hand, sealed with the seal of my arms, and countersigned by the subscribed Secretary of this government and captaincy-general. Nueva Orleans, March 26, 1784.

Estevan Miro (rubric).

---

[1] Don Eugenio Pourée.

LXXVII

OFFICERS OF THE MILITIA OF ST. CHARLES AND FLORISSANT — 1793

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

Commission of Don Pedro Trigé[1] in the militia at San Carlos:]

The Baron de Carondelet, etc.:

Ascertaining it to be of advantage to the service of His Majesty to form a company of militia at the post of San Carlos del Misouri, and being cognizant likewise of the benefits of appointing to the position of sub-lieutenant of the said company a person of courage, energy and good conduct, which necessary qualifications are combined in Don Pedro Trigé, I have exercised the authority conferred upon me by the king, and appoint and designate him a sub-lieutenant of the aforesaid company. I therefore direct the sergeants, corporals, and enlisted men to obey him in all the orders which he may give them orally or in writing touching the royal service, observing and causing to be observed all the honors and privileges which belong and pertain to him without omission. These presents given at Nueva Orleans, July 9, 1793.

Commission of Don Antonio Gautier in the militia at San Carlos:]

The Baron de Carondelet, etc.

Ascertaining it to be of advantage to the service of His Majesty to form a company of militia at San Carlos del Misouri, and being cognizant likewise of the benefits of appointing to the position of lieutenant of the said company a person of recognized courage, energy, and good conduct, which necessary qualifications are combined in Don Antonio Gautier,[2] I have exercised the authority conferred upon me by the king, and appoint and designate him as lieutenant of the aforesaid company. I therefore direct the officers, sergeants, corporals, and enlisted men to obey him in all the orders which he shall give them orally or in writing touching the royal service, observing and causing to be observed all the honors and privileges which belong and pertain to him without any omission. These presents given at Nueva Orleans, July 9, 1793.

---

[1] Pierre Trogo came to St. Charles in 1791 from Cahokia, where in 1785 he was appointed *huissier* of the first American court there. At Cahokia he had litigation with Dumoulin, Chartran, Piggot and others. An Andre Trojot in the Montreal militia in 1663 may be his ancestor. Sulte's Canadien Française, vol. iv, p. 9.

[2] In 1796 Trudeau granted him 4,000 arpens on *Le Marais de Temps Clair* (Clearweather swamp) good only, so he claimed "for the timber" and "to raise cattle." This Antoine Gautier was in command of the Fort "San Juan del Misuri," where the village of Charette was afterward located. A Madeline Gauthier made claim to land on Mackinac island and William Gauthier claimed land in lower Louisiana— all no doubt members of the same family.

Your Lordship appoints as lieutenant of the militia company at San Carlos del Misoury Don Antonio Gautier.

Commission of Don Francisco de Lauxier in the militia at Florissant:]

The Baron de Carondelet, knight of the Order of, etc.:

Ascertaining it to be of advantage to the service of His Majesty to form a company of militia at the post of San Fernando de Florissant, and being cognizant of the benefits of appointing to the position of sub-lieutenant of the said company a person of courage, conduct, and diligence, which necessary qualifications are combined in Don Francisco de Laurier,[3] I have exercised the authority conferred upon me by the king, and appoint and designate him as sub-lieutenant of the aforesaid company. I therefore direct the officers, sergeants, corporals, and enlisted men to obey him in all the orders which he shall give them touching the royal service, whether orally or in writing, observing and causing to be observed all the honors and privileges which belong and pertain to him without any omission. These presents given at Nueva Orleans, July 9, 1793.

Commission of Don Francisco Moreau[4] in the militia at Florissant:]

The Baron de Carondelet, etc.:

Ascertaining it to be of advantage to the service of His Majesty to form a company of militia at the post of San Fernando de Florisan, and being cognizant likewise of the benefits of appointing to the position of lieutenant of the said company a person of courage, energy, and good conduct, which necessary qualifications are combined in Don Francisco Moreau, I have exercised the authority conferred upon me by His Majesty, and appoint and designate him as lieutenant of the aforesaid company. I therefore direct the officers, sergeants, corporals, and enlisted men to obey him in all the orders which he shall give them orally or in writing touching the royal service, observing and causing to be observed all the honors and privileges which belong and pertain to him without any omission. These presents given at Nueva Orleans, July 9, 1793.

---

[3] This is François de Laurier, who afterward claimed property both in Florissant and St. Louis.

[4] He married Catharine Marechal, daughter of Nicolas Marechal, one of the earliest settlers of Florissant.

Your Lordship appoints as lieutenant of the militia company at San Fernando de Florisan Don Francisco Moreau.

LXXVIII

COMMISSIONS ISSUED TO MILITIA OFFICERS OF SPANISH NEW MADRID — 1792 — 1795 — 1797

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Paper from the Island of Cuba.

The Baron de Carondelet, etc.:

Finding it to be of advantage to the service of His Majesty to form a company of militia at the post of Nuevo Madrid under the orders of the commandant there, and being likewise cognizant of the benefits of appointing to the position of captain of the said company a person of known courage, zeal, and good conduct, which necessary qualifications are united in Don Pedro de Roche,[1] I have made use of the authority conferred upon me by the king, and designate and appoint him as captain of the said company. Therefore I direct the officers, sergeants, corporals and enlisted men to obey all the orders which he shall give orally or in writing concerning the royal service, observing and causing to be observed all the honors and dignities which belong and pertain to him, without omission.

Given at Nueva Orleans, December 22, 1792.

The Baron de Carondelet, etc.:

[Formal words of commission follow, in the same manner as in the previous case, conferring on Don Ricardo Water[2] the rank of lieutenant in the company of militia at Nuevo Madrid. Dated Nuevo Orleans, December 22, 1792.]

The Baron de Carondelet, etc.:

[Commission of Don Roberto McCoy as sub-lieutenant in the company of militia at Nuevo Madrid. In the same form as the two preceding, except that orders are given to the sergeants, corporals and enlisted men to obey his orders. Dated, Nueva Orleans, December 22, 1792.]

---

[1] This De Roche or De Roches probably came to New Madrid from Vincennes, and was no doubt a descendant of Jacob de Marsac de Roches. See Mich. Hist. Coll. vol. xxxiv, p. 40.

[2] See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 145.

The Baron de Carondelet.:

Ascertaining it to be of advantage to the service of His Majesty to form a second company of militia at the post of Nuevo Madrid under the orders of the commandant there, and being cognizant likewise of the benefits of appointing as captain of the said company a person of known courage, zeal, and good conduct, which necessary qualifications are united in Don Antonio Gamelin,[3] I have made use of the authority conferred upon me by the king, and designate and appoint him as captain of the said company. I therefore direct the officers, sergeants, corporals, and enlisted men to obey all the orders which he shall give orally or in writing concerning the royal service, observing and causing to be observed all the honors, privileges, and dignities which belong and pertain to him. Given at the City of Nueva Orleans, the fourteenth of May, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three.

The Baron de Carondelet, etc.:

Ascertaining it to be of advantage to the service of His Majesty to form a second company of Militia at the post of Nuevo Madrid, under the orders of the commandant there, and being likewise cognizant of the benefits of appointing to the position of sub-lieutenant of the said company a person of known courage, zeal, and good conduct, which necessary qualifications are united in Don Azor Rees, I have made use of the authority conferred upon me by the king, and designate and appoint him as sub-lieutenant of the said company. Therefore I direct the sergeants, corporals, and enlisted men to obey all orders which he shall give them in speech or writing concerning the royal service, observing and causing to be observed all the honors and dignities which belong and pertain to him, without omission. Given at Nueva Orleans, the fourteenth day of May, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three.

The Baron de Carondelet, Knight of the Order of San Juan, Brigadier, etc.:

In consideration of the merit and services of Don Juan la Vallée,[4] sub-lieutenant of the militia of Ylinoa, now actually resident in Nuevo Madrid, I have decided under the authority conferred upon me by the king to transfer him to the same rank of sub-lieutenant in the militia of the said post of Nuevo Madrid; and I direct the officers, sergeants, corporals, and enlisted men to hold and regard him as such sub-lieutenant, observing and causing to be observed all the honors and dignities which belong to him.

---

[3] From Vincennes. See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 139.

[4] From this it appears that La Vallée resided probably in St. Louis or Ste. Genevieve before he came to New Madrid, and that in 1795 New Madrid was considered as separate from "the Illinois."

Given at Nuevo Orleans, October 26, 1795.

The Baron de Carondelet, Knight of the Order of San Juan, etc.:

Ascertaining it to be of advantage to the service of the king to form a company of militia at the post of Nuevo Madrid, and being likewise cognizant of the benefits to be derived from the appointment as lieutenant of a person of diligence, zeal, and good conduct, which necessary qualifications are united in Don Roberto Macay [McCoy], Lieutenant of the first Company of Fusileers, I have made use of the authority conferred upon me by the king, and have decided to appoint him, as by these presents I do appoint him, as such lieutenant of cavalry in the militia at the post of Nuevo Madrid, and I direct the officers, sergeants, corporals, and enlisted men to respect and obey all orders which he shall give in writing or orally concerning the royal service, observing and causing to be observed all the honors and dignities which belong and pertain to him. Given at Nueva Orleans, signed by my hand, sealed with the seal of my arms, and countersigned by the honorary commissary of war, Secretary for His Majesty of this government. July 1, 1797.

The Baron de Carondelet, etc.:

Since the lieutenancy of the first company of militia at the post of Nuevo Madrid has been vacated by the transfer to a lieutenancy of cavalry of Don Roberto Macay [McCoy], who filled the former position, and since it is desirable to fill the vacant place by the appointment of a person of diligence, zeal, and good conduct, which necessary qualifications are united in Don Juan la Vallée, I have made use of the authority conferred upon me by the king, and have decided to appoint him, as by these presents I do appoint him, as such lieutenant of the first company of militia of Nuevo Madrid, and I direct the officers, sergeants, corporals, and enlisted men to obey and respect all orders which he shall give orally or in writing concerning the royal service, observing and causing to be observed all the honors and dignities which belong and pertain to him. Given at Nueva Orleans, signed by my hand, sealed with the seal of my arms, and countersigned by the honorary commissary of war, Secretary for His Majesty of the government, at Nueva Orleans, the first of July, 1797.

Fran[cis]co Luis Hector, Baron de Carondelet, etc.:

Ascertaining it to be of advantage to the serivce of the king to form a company of militia cavalry at the post of Nuevo Madrid, and being likewise cognizant of the benefits to be derived by appointing to the position of captain thereof a person of diligence, zeal, and good conduct, which necessary qualifications are united in Don Ricardo Tones [Jones] Waters, I have made use of the authority conferred upon me by the king, and have decided to appoint him, as by these presents I do appoint him, as such captain of militia cavalry at the post of Nuevo Madrid; and I direct the officers, sergeants, corporals, and enlisted men to respect and obey all the orders which he shall give orally or in writing concerning the royal service, observing and causing to be observed all the honors and dignities which belong and pertain to him.

Given at Nueva Orleans, signed by my hand, sealed with the seal of my arms, and countersigned by the honorary commissary of war, His Majesty's Secretary for this government, on the first of July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven, at Nueva Orleans.

The Baron de Carondelet, etc.:

The captaincy of the second company of infantry in the militia of the post of Nuevo Madrid being vacated by the transference to a captaincy of cavalry of Don Ricardo Waters, who filled the position, and it being desirable to provide for the place with a person of diligence, zeal, intelligence and good conduct, which necessary qualifications are united in Don Pedro Derbigny, I have made use of the authority conferred upon me by the king, and have decided to appoint him, as by these presents I do appoint him, as such captain of the second company of infantry in the militia of the post of Nuevo Madrid; and I direct the officers, sergeants, corporals and enlisted men to respect and obey all the orders which he shall give them orally or in writing concerning the royal service, observing and causing to be observed all the honors and dignities which belong and pertain to him. These presents given, signed by my hand, sealed with the seal of my arms, and countersigned by the honorary commissary of war, Secretary of this government, at Nueva Orleans, July the first, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven.

Don Francisco Luis Hector, Baron de Carondelet, Knight, etc.:

The sub-lieutenancy of the first company of militia of the post of Nuevo Madrid being vacated by the promotion of Don Juan la Vallée, who occupied the position, and it being desirable to fill it by the appointment of a person of diligence, zeal, and good conduct, which necessary qualifications are united in Don Francisco Riche Dupin, I have made use of the authority conferred upon me by the king, and have decided to appoint him, as by these presents I do appoint him, as such sub-lieutenant of the first company of militia of Nuevo Madrid; and I direct the sergeants, corporals, and enlisted men to obey and respect all orders which he shall give them, orally or in writing, concerning the royal service, observing and causing to be observed all the honors, privileges, and dignities which belong and pertain to him.

These presents given, signed by my hand, sealed with my arms, and countersigned by the honorary commissary of war, His Majesty's Secretary for this government, at Neuva Orlean [*sic*] the first of July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven.

Don Francisco Luis Hector, Baron de Carondelet, Knight, etc.:

Since it is of advantage to the service of His Majesty to appoint to the post of ensign of the first militia company of Nuevo Madrid a person of diligence, zeal, and good conduct, which necessary qualifications are united in Don Antonio Laforge,[5] I have made use of the authority conferred upon me by the king, and have decided to appoint him, as by these presents I do appoint him, as such ensign of the first militia company of Nuevo Madrid; and I direct the sergeants, corporals, and enlisted men to respect and obey all the orders which he shall give them orally or in writing concerning the royal service, observing and causing to be observed all the honors, privileges, and dignities which belong and pertain to him.

These presents given, signed by my hand, sealed with my arms, and countersigned by the subscribed honorary commissary of war, His Majesty's Secretary for this government, at Nueva Orleans, the first of July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven.

Don Francisco Luis Hector, Baron de Carondelet, Knight.:

Since it is of advantage to the service of His Majesty to appoint to the post of ensign of the second militia company of Nuevo Madrid a person of diligence, zeal, and good conduct, which necessary qualifications are united in Don Juan Hunot,[6] I have made use of the authority which has been conferred upon me by the king, and have decided to appoint him, as by these presents I do appoint him, as such ensign of the second militia company of Nuevo Madrid; and I direct the sergeants, corporals, and enlisted men to respect and obey all the orders which he shall give them orally or in writing in the royal service, observing and causing to be observed all the honors and dignities which belong and pertain to him.

---

[5] Peter Antoine la Forge came to Spanish New Madrid from Gallipolis. See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 139.

These presents given, signed by my hand and sealed with my arms, and countersigned by the subscribed honorary commissary of war, His Majesty's Secretary for this government, at Nueva Orleans, the first of July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven.

The Baron de Carondelet, etc.:

Ascertaining it to be of advantage to the service of the king to create a militia company of cavalry at the post of Nuevo Madrid, and being likewise cognizant of the benefits of appointing to the position of ensign thereof a person of diligence, zeal, and good conduct, which necessary qualifications are united in Don Jorge Regren,[7] I have made use of the authority conferred upon me by the king, and have decided to appoint him, as by these presents I do appoint him as such ensign of the militia company of cavalry at the post of Nuevo Madrid; and I direct the sergeants, corporals, and enlisted men to respect and obey all the orders which he shall give orally or in writing concerning the royal service, observing and causing to be observed all the honors and dignities which belong and pertain to him.

These presents given, signed by my hand, sealed with my arms, and countersigned by the subscribed honorary commissary of war, His Majesty's Secretary for this government, at Nueva Orleans, the first of July, 1797.

Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, Brigadier of the Royal Armies, Governor General, Vice-Regal Patron of the Provinces of Luisiana and Florida Occidental, Inspector of the veteran and militia forces therein, etc.:

[6] This probably should be Joseph Hunot, a native of Detroit, who came to New Madrid from Vincennes.

[7] George Reagan.

The captaincy of the second company of infantry of the post of Nuevo Madrid being vacated by the fact that Don Pedro Derbigny[8] who held the position is serving as interpreter in this city, and it being desirable to fill the place with a person of courage, zeal, and good conduct, which necessary qualifications are united in the lieutenant of the company of dragoons of the same post, Don Roberto McCoy,[9] I have made use of the authority conferred upon me by the king to appoint, and I do hereby appoint him as captain of the said company; and I direct the officers, sergeants, corporals, and enlisted men to respect and obey all orders which he shall give orally or in writing in the royal service observing and causing to be observed all the honors, privileges, and exemptions which belong and pertain to him.

These presents given, signed by my hand and sealed with the seal of my arms, and countersigned by the undersigned honorary commissary of war and Secretary for His Majesty in this government, at Nueva Orleans, December 3, 1797.

Your Excellency appoints as captain of the second company of militia at Nuevo Madrid Don Roberto McCoy.

---

[8] Married a sister of Don Carlos de Lassus at Pittsburg, whence he moved to New Madrid, and later to New Orleans. After the cession he was elected Judge of the Supreme Court and Governor of Louisiana. See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, pp. 101, 140, 141.

[9] He came to New Madrid from Vincennes in 1786. See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, pp. 96, 107, 141, 151–157 and 368.

LXXIX

OFFICERS OF THE STE. GENEVIEVE MILITIA APPOINTED BY CARONDELET — 1794

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

Baron de Carondelet, etc.:

The post of sub-Lieutenant of the second company of the militia of Santa Genoveva of Ylinoa being vacant; and since it is advisable to appoint to it a person of valor, zeal, and good conduct; and since these necessary qualifications are found in Don Juan Bautista Tanniss, I choose and appoint him, by virtue of the power that is conferred upon me, as such sub-Lieutenant of the said company. Therefore I order the commandant of the settlements of Ylinoa to cause him to be recognized in his class, and the sergeants, corporals, and soldiers to obey and respect all the orders which he gives in writing or verbally that concern the royal service, observing and causing to be observed for him, all the honors, rights, and privileges, which belong and pertain to him, etc.

Nueva Orleans, March first, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four.

[By a similar order of the same date, Baron de Carondelet appoints Francisco Vallé to the post of sub-Lieutenant of the first company of the militia of Santa Genoveva.]

[By another order, of the same date, Francisco Lavale is appointed sub-Lieutenant of the second company of the militia of San Luis de Ylinoi in the place of Andres Tagos who is removed to another corps.]

[Another order, of like date, appoints Juan Bautista la Croix sub-Lieutenant of the militia company of Louisbourg[1], and the commandants of the settlements of Ylinoa are ordered to have him obeyed as such officer.]

---

[1] A name by which the village of Carondelet was then known.

[A similar order, of the same date, appoints Antonio Andres de Guirro[2] Lieutenant of the second company of the militia of Santa Genoveva. At the end of the appointment is the following:]

The present given, signed by our hand, sealed with the seal of my arms, and countersigned by the undersigned Secretary for His Majesty of this government and Intendancy, in Nueva Orleans, March first, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four.

[A like order, of the same date, appoints Joseph Prast[3] Lieutenant of the first militia company of Santa Genoveva.]

Don Francisco Louis Hector, Baron de Carondelet, etc.:

Since a second new militia company is to be formed in the settlement of Santa Genoveva, in the district of Ylino, and it is advisable to appoint to it a person of valor, zeal, good conduct, and application for the royal service; and since these necessary qualifications are found with proved distinction in the family of Don Juan Bautista Valle: I have just appointed him as such Captain of the second militia company of the above-mentioned post. I order the Lieutenant-Governor, officers, and soldiers of said district to consider and hold him as such Captain, observing and causing to be observed toward him all the honors, privileges, and rights belonging to him.

The present given, signed by my hand, sealed with the seal of my arms, and countersigned by the undersigned Secretary, etc.

Nueva Orleans, July 21, 1794.

[An appointment, dated March 1, 1794, names Clemente de Lorde Treget, Captain of the militia company of Louisbourg.]

[Pedro de Treget is appointed on the same date Lieutenant of the militia company of Louisbourg.]

[2] Andre de Guire.

[3] Joseph Pratte.

LXXX

OFFICIAL LETTERS TO LOUIS LORIMIER, 1787-1793

General Archives of the Indies — Seville.

Letters from the Commandants in the different posts of the Ylinoa relative to the service of His Majesty from the year 1787, up to and including that of 1793; written and addressed to Louis Lorimier.

First Document:]

San Luis des Ylinoa,
July 9, 1787.

Mr. Lorimier:

Sir:

I have received your letter dated the sixth instant, in which you inform me that the Chavuesnons [Shawanoes] will settle in your opinion at Bon Brulé [Bois Brulé].[1] You tell me you desire a plantation near there, in which to settle. It will give me true pleasure to be able to oblige you by granting you one wherever you wish.

Mr. Harvard,[2] who carries this letter, has presented to me several accounts for goods advanced to you. Since it seems they have not received your approval I have not been able to grant any of his demands. I told him to speak to you and to make his arrangements with you, and in case of any difficulty in settling your accounts I will try, if you can come here sometime, to bring you both to settlement so that this whole business can be terminated, as I greatly desire that you will go on calmly to attend to your business in this expectation where you are. I thank you for six quires of paper which Mr. Largeau[3] has sent me by Mr. Gratiot.

I am with regard,

Your servant,

(Signed) Francisco Cruzat.

---

[1] Bois Brulé bottom below Ste. Genevieve.

[2] Hugh Heward, representative of the Miami Company, a fur-trading company of Ohio.

[3] From this it would appear that Charles François Largeau even then was with Lorimier. He acted as secretary subsequently at Cape Girardeau.

Second Document:]

SIR:

I am told that the Chavuesnons [Shawanoes] whom Spain has received on this side that they might enjoy tranquillity here, are thinking of breaking the peace by attacking the Americans who have become Spaniards in order likewise to enjoy tranquillity. I cannot believe such news. I beg you to speak to the chiefs and to engage them to tell me what is their intention in this matter so that I may report to my superiors.

I am with regard, sir,
Your servant,
(Signed) PEYROUX DE LA COUDRENIERE.

Ste. Genevieve, September 1.

Third Document:]

Ste. Genevieve, May 27, 1789.

SIR:

I am surprised that you have not informed me of your return from the Chavuesnons after having told me not more than a fortnight ago that you were soon going to leave for San Luis. You made this promise to the Cheraquis [Cherokees] and Chavuesnons who have been on parole at San Luis and are accordingly waiting for you there. I announced your arrival to Mr. Perez, who has had these Indians kept at his expense while waiting for you, since there is no intrepreter who can understand them. It is therefore of importance, sir, for your own affairs and for those of the government that you should leave without delay. There is a canoe here which leaves tomorrow morning for San Luis and which offers a very convenient opportunity. I await your answer in order to write to Mr. Perez.

I am, sir, with regard,
Your servant,
(Signed) PEYROUX DE LA COUDRENIERE.

Order.

Fourth Document:]

Mr. Lorimier is directed to leave this morning for San Luis to act as interpreter for the Chavuesnons and Cheraquis Indians. Issued at Sante Genovieve, May 29, 1789.

(Signed) PEYROUX, etc.

Fifth Document:]

San Luis des Ylinoa, May 4, 1792.

SIR:

By your letter of the twenty-third of last April I see the pains which you take to discover the concealed designs of the tribe of the Loup[s] who seem to you to have evil intentions on this bank of the river. I cannot express too strongly my approval of your zeal in this matter, and of the accuracy with which you inform and instruct this government as to the councils of this tribe and as to the steps which they take to excite our enemies against us. I beg you to continue this watchfulness and to observe them as closely as possible. If you discover any definite and certain plots you will do all you can to give information of them to the persons living in the places whom they threaten, or to those nearest to you.

In spite of this the tribe of the Loups and others have no grounds of complaint in any respect as to this region. If they have had some men killed in the neighborhood of this village that was by a great mistake. You are not ignorant that we have settled this affair and that they have promised to forget everything.

As for the Ozages, the Loups and the other tribes have nothing to reproach us with. If the former have goods they can have got them only by stopping the traders on the upper Misuri. This disobedience on their part has caused me to feel great irritation with them. I have done all I could to excite the Sacs and the Renards [Foxes] to go to war with them. At my request several parties have gone into their country and at this moment I learn that one such party has returned after killing five persons.

You must have learned that at Ste. Genevieve the Pées took one [Osage] whom they have brought here for me to do with him what I choose. At this moment I am keeping him in irons. So you see that I am not trying to show any mildness to the tribe, which I regard as our enemy.

As for what Beaulon[4] has said to you I am surprised that you could have believed it. If I spent a great deal of money on the Loups to settle for their deaths it was entirely on this account. I felt the need of it myself, and accordingly I cannot impose the expense upon anybody except myself and nobody else; and Beaulon is a great deceiver if he has said to you that I spoke to him about you.

---

[4] This probably refers to Hypolite Bolon, interpreter of the Indians on the Saline — or Gabriel Bolon, also an interpreter, who together with his nephews, was killed by the Mascoux Indians. They came from Vincennes.

I am, sir, with regard,
Your servant,
(Signed) Manuel Perez.

To Mr. Lorimier.

Sixth Document:]

Sir:

I have received with great satisfaction your last letter of the twenty-third of April. In the name of the King our master and of all his faithful subjects, I thank you for the valuable reports which you give me with reference to the intentions of the Loups and of their ill will toward the subjects of the King our master. And in the name of our sovereign and of all your compatriots, I urge you to continue to keep watch upon the conduct of the Loups in all respects and to report upon their resolutions whether real or apparent.

Having never doubted your fidelity and your zeal for the glory of the King our master and your affection for his subjects, I remain with full confidence in your activity; and I beg you to believe me with sincere esteem,

Sir, your very humble, etc.,
(Signed) Portell.

Fort Celeste, Nouvelle Madrid, May 22, 1792.

Seventh Document:]

Fort Celeste, Nouvelle Madrid, June 16, 1792.

Sir:

It is always with great satisfaction that I receive letters from you which are filled with marks of your zeal for the glory of our sovereign and the interests of your fellow subjects. Following Mr. Perez's example, I urge you to continue your attentions, and to give us reports of everything which in your opinion is likely to be prejudicial to the general interests of the state and especially of what is likely to be injurious to the glory of our noble sovereign. I am glad to learn by your last letter that everything seems quiet.

I am, with sincere esteem and entire confidence,
(Signed) Portell.

Eighth Document:]

Nouvelle Madrid, August 4, 1792.

SIR:

On the arrival of Mr. [*sic*] from Captain[4] [*sic*] Girardeau I learn that you are afraid to come to this port. Certainly your fear is ill founded, being based upon the bad reports which have been made to you, for I am not aware that you have been lacking in any respect with reference to the government. At the same time you cannot fail to see that it is my duty to keep under my supervision all persons who are about to settle in my district. If any of your correspondents has written to you that I have any evil purposes toward you I can assure you that they are people who do not tell the truth, and that you may come here with perfect confidence and I will show you the falsehood of these people who have written such a lie to you. You will have the goodness to tell Mr. Coyteux[5] to come with you, and also the Americans who are there. I shall be delighted to see you here.

I am, sir, your very humble servant,

(Signed) PORTELL.

To Mr. Lorimier.

Ninth Document:]

Sant Genovieve, August 6, 1792.

SIR:

The permit which you wished to have I send you herewith enclosed. The Commandant writes me that you should not relax your watchfulness of the conduct of the Indians and your reports of their behavior, but should continue as you have previously done. I send you the same message, urging you to prove your vigilance in order to display your zeal to the king and your country. I have always known you to be sincere and honest, and I hope that you will not fall off from what you are and will continue your services. I entrust to you the duty to report what you shall discover of the councils, plots, or schemes of the Indians to all the commandants of this region as well as of Nouvelle Madrid, etc., in order to prevent accidents which might occur.

I have, sir, the honor to be your very humble, etc.,

(Signed) F^cois^ VALLÉ.

---

[4] Should be "Cap."

[5] This is probably Louis Coyteux who had a concession in Bois Brule.

Tenth Document:]

Sant Louis, August 8, 1792.

Mr. Lorimier:

In view of the reports given me by the commandant of Ste. Genevieve as to the evil designs of the Loups against the settlements in this jurisdiction, it is important that you should be active in observing their councils and procedings in order to inform me of them, and should also set the Chavuesnons to work. The latter are under engagements to reveal to us all their plots and conspiracies if they should come to have a knowledge of them. You will yourself take measures in all cases to restrain and keep under control this powerful tribe, whom you will engage to come to visit me as soon as possible. You may promise them that they will be well received by their new father, and will indicate to me the manner in which I ought to receive them in order to appease the hatred and bitterness with which they regard us because of what happened at this village last year. Though I have no means to recompense your efforts, I flatter myself that if you can conduct and employ yourself with zeal in the activities which I urge upon you, you will receive the approbation and protection of His Excellency the Governor General, to whom I shall send a report of your conduct. In addition you will have the gratitude of your fellow citizens and the satisfaction of having been useful in a special degree to our settlements and to the service of the King. Some days ago I sent to Mr. Vallé, your Commandant, a permit for you which he asks for from me. The purpose of this was that while carrying on your trade you might keep watch upon the matters which I suggested to you by him, and which I suggest to you today. You will be in a position to follow both tribes, the Chavuesnons and the Loups, in which I ask the Commandants of Nouvelle Madrid and Acansas to favor you during the year which you are to pass in their jurisdiction. If you find yourself within easy reach of these same Commandants you will be under obligations to report to them as much as to myself with reference to all matters entrusted to you by me.

I am your servant,

(Signed) ZENON TRUDEAU.

Eleventh Document:]

SIR:

I have received yours of August 17, by which you inform me of the arrival of four Indians of the Loup tribe who have stopped those who were on their way to see me. I do not doubt that you will exert all the zeal and activity necessary to discover the subject of the council which this tribe must have had, and that you will inform either Mr. Vallé or me about it, if the affair is worth the trouble. You are not ignorant how necessary it is to watch over the proceedings and conduct of the said tribe. You can keep your eyes upon this better than anyone else, either in your own person or by the Chavuesnons tribe, which is in alliance with you and upon which reliance may be placed. This will be to render a service to the country and particularly to this province, which will cause you to be favorably recommended to the government and will bring you great honor.

I am perfectly, sir,
Yours, etc.,
(Signed) ZENON TRUDEAU.

Sant Louis, August 26, 1792.
Mr. Lorimier.

Twelfth Document:]

SIR:

I have received your report, which deserves careful examination What you have said to me merits consideration, and from the present you may count upon the permit you ask to trade on the Mississipy. In spite of this I fear for you disagreements and conflicts of jurisdiction, from which I take pleasure in believing I shall relieve you by the report I am about to send to His Excellency the Governor General. For the present I take the precaution of recommending you by the passports which I shall immediately send for you to all the Commandants under whose jurisdiction you may find yourself.

I am perfectly your very humble, etc.,
(Signed) ZENON TRUDEAU.

St. Louis, August 26, 1792.
Mr. Lorimier.

Thirteenth Document:]

SIR:

The present letter is to beg you to have an attentive eye on all the Indian tribes and especially that of the Loups; to make an effort to discover their evil intentions or plots against the subjects of this government; and also to choose from among the Indians intelligent persons to watch over the proceedings of the Americans, their movements and their marches. As soon as you receive reports from them you will have them sent to me or to Nouvelle Madrid, according to the way in which they act. I hope to write you more at length in a few days, as soon as I have received news from the courier who last went out.

I am, sir, with esteem,
Your very humble, etc.,
(Signed) F'ois Vallé.

Mr. Lorimier.

Fourteenth Document:]

Sir:

In consequence of the letter from the Baron de Carondelet who informs me of the threats against Nouvelle Madrid made by the Americans I request you to say to the Indians in your neighborhood that their father desires them to come and watch the march and the conduct of the Americans and to commit no hostilities without receiving orders from him. You will please tell them to be ready at his first invitation.

The intentions of the Governor General are to recompense the deserts and the good will of each one.

I hope everything, sir, of your activity and your zeal in watching or causing others to watch all the places and roads occupied by threatening enemies.

I am, sir, your very humble, etc.,
(Signed) F'ois Vallé.

Sante Genovieve, March 18, 1793.

Fifteenth Document:]

Sante Genovieve, April first, 1793.

Sir:

I have received a letter from the Governor General dated December 22, 1792, in which he says that he has given orders because of and with reference to the Ossages, in accordance with which an attack is to be made upon them as enemies and when you shall come here I will communicate this article to you.

I am, sir, with sincerity,
Your etc.,
(Signed) F'ois Vallé.

Mr. Lorimier.

Sixteenth Document:]

Herewith is the permit given by the Governor General allowing you to carry on trade with the Loups and Chavuesnons tribes. It is sufficiently broad to leave you nothing to desire, and to remove any fear that you will be troubled by any officer of the King so long as you conduct yourself as you have done up to the present day. You are entrusted with the duty of maintaining order among the Indians and of bringing as many as possible over to this side, by posting them as conveniently as may be to our settlements. This is to be done with a view to their rendering us aid in case of war with the whites as well as with the Osages. With the latter I have not made war because I have some precautions to take before that befalls them.

Tell the Loups, the Chavauesnons and the other tribes who sent me a memorial in the month of September last that it is on account of the ills that they have suffered that the Governor General has determined upon the war in order to procure for them tranquillity in our territories. The Ossages, being soon deprived of assistance, and harassed by them and by us, will certainly come to their senses; and consequently all the red tribes ought to agree to lend aid to each other. It is their advantage which the Government seeks, and this is what you must try to persuade them of in order that the injured tribes may take such measures toward the others as to obtain aid from them. It is especially important that they should bring the Ayoa [Iowas] and the Saquien [Sacs] and Renards [Foxes] to refuse their consent to giving the Ossages passage in order to trade on the river Des Moins [Des Moines]. Still less are they to permit the English to make their way among them by the river, as is possible.

Being protected by the Government, you owe it your services in watching exactly over everything which may give it prosperity, and in sending information of everything opposed to it. At this moment there are fears not of the assemblies of the Indians, but of the evil-disposed persons who depend upon them. Post yourself in an advantageous situation to give reports of the least gathering in the world. I have confidence that as soon as you shall have knowledge of any you will send reports to all of the Commandants within your reach, as being well for our defense. The Governor has approved the expenditure of twenty thousand porcelain beads which I gave the Loups and to which you contributed. My intention has always been to reimburse you for this, and at the present day I am able to do so with the greatest ease since the means are offered me without my looking elsewhere. Accordingly you may draw upon me at the rate of six piastres a thousand, as the King has agreed to pay me for them.

I am told that you are going to come to St. Louis with your Indians. Since I am entirely without any supply of goods a visit would be somewhat embarrassing to me; so I wish to arrange with you to come alone if your presence is necessary here, and to await the arrival of the bateaux that I may be in a position to make a creditable gift to these Indians.

May God have you in his holy keeping.

(Signed) ZENON TRUDEAU.

St. Louis, May 1, 1793.

P. S. I am keeping your permit until I have a suitable opportunity to which I can entrust it. Its purport is that you are not to be interfered with from Misoury to Acansas in your trade or in the settlements that you may make there with the Chavuisnons, Loups, or other tribes, and that your settlement at Cape Girardeau shall be kept for you.

Seventeenth Document:]

Nouvelle Orleans, May 8, 1793.

SIR:

In view of the advantageous reports made to me by Mr. de Lassus of your attachment to Spain I renew my orders to Messrs. Trudeau and Portell to favor you in everything within their authority and not opposed to His Majesty's service. I am informed that you are carrying on an active commerce with the American settlements and leaving nothing to ours except your abode there. I hope that in the future you will give the preference to a country to which you are attached, and the commerce of which will be in a most brilliant state after the new arrangements that I have made with Messrs. Lassus and Cardereau.[6] If, however, you insist, sir, in bringing down goods by La Belle Riviere [Ohio], I can do no less than oppose the settlement at Cap Girardo.

In accordance with the orders which I am sending by these gentlemen to the Commandants of the settlements on the upper waters of the river a general expedition is to be made against the very villages of the Ozages. I do not need to tell you, sir, that I count upon you and your people for success. The general good demands that this perfidious tribe should be absolutely destroyed.

---

[6] Tardiveau — referring to the contract to build mills, etc.

To recompense the zeal of the principal chief of the Chavuesnons who is under your orders I have sent a medal, two bracelets, a scarlet uniform with galloons, and several other trifles to Mr. Trudeau, to be given to him.

As for the favor which you have asked, namely, to be naturalized as a Spaniard, that you may avoid useless expense, I have given an order to this effect to Mr. Trudeau, who will receive your oath of allegiance. The authentic patent of citizenship will be delivered to you by this Government, and entitles you to enjoy the same rights accorded to native Spaniards.

You will probably have received my previous letter by which I notify you that I have sent orders to Mr. Portell with reference to your settlement. It therefore remains for me only to assure you of the fixed settlements with which I have the honor to be,

Sir, your very humble and very affectionate servant,

(Signed) The Baron de Carondelet.

Eighteenth Document:]

St. Louis, June 2, 1793.

I have received the discussions of the Indians on the subject of the war with the Ozages. As this war is declared only on the grounds set forth in the statement of these same Indians in the month of last September, the government is persuaded that they will be disposed to make war of themselves at the moment when the order is given to close the Misuri. It is therefore necessary to make the tribes among whom you live understand that we are depriving ourselves of an important trade in order to put them in a position to avenge themselves upon those who have insulted and outraged them.

If they wish to act in concert, they will be able to strike a terrible blow together, which may drive the Ozage Indians far away, and they may secure a territory more abundant in animals than they have ever seen. You know that there are very few white men in these settlements to help them, besides we are scarcely sufficient in number to protect ourselves in case of an emergency that may happen, but only if volunteers are found who may be willing to accompany them, a matter which they may decide for themselves, that is all that I can do

I am, Sir, your etc.,

(Signed) Zenon Trudeau.

Nineteenth Document:]

Ste. Genevieve, July 20, 1793.

Dear Sir:

We have been informed that a band of Miami Indians have appeared in Kaskaskia with the contagious disease [*la Picotte*] small pox and that they said they were going to find *Pacamie*: I beg of you to take an interest in the matter for the public good, by asking the Indians not to receive those who are afflicted with that disease and to keep them away from their encampment, as well as from yours, for a period of at least two months.

I am, sir, your etc.,

(Signed) Fr. Vallé.

Twentieth Document:]

Fort Celeste, Nouvelle Madrid, August 16, 1793.

Mr. L. Lorimier,

Sir:

The Governor General of this province has told me in his letters to coöperate with the Commandant of St. Louis, in preparing the various Indian tribes, our neighbors and friends, for a general expedition against the Ozages our declared enemies. He likewise directs me to urge you to speak to the Chavuesnons in order to decide them to undertake this war against the Ozages. They ought to regard the latter as their particular enemies because of the wrong which they are certain to receive from them. As soon as you shall be acquainted with their intentions and shall be sure of the time at which they may find themselves ready to march, you will inform me thereof, so that I may send instructions to the Commandant of Akansas. These instructions are intended for the Indian tribes of all the regions even the most distant; for all of them universally even to Mexico are inclined to this war, and are only waiting for the arrangements of the tribes of this neighborhood to fix the day of their departure and the place of the rendezvous so that they may all at one single time join and form a strong body.

As Mr. Guilbeaut after his return from being with you reported that there had been seen on the prairies the trail of a number of persons, and that you were disposed to send and look at it, I beg you to inform me of the reconnaissance and of the results that have followed. It is desirable that you should report on all this as soon as possible.

I am, sir, with entire confidence and esteem,

Your, etc.,

(Signed) Tomas Portell.

To M. Lorimier, at Cap Girardeau.

Twenty-first Document:]

St. Louis, August 22, 1793.

SIR:

What I have said to the Chavuesnons chiefs, Metapuissa and Asabande, will have let them know my dissatisfaction with them because of their attempt to seduce from us the rest of the villages settled on our territories. I gave them the best reception I could, and shall send another embassy to them to make them promise not to abandon us. I should have done this instantly if I had had the time to write to them.

Endeavor on your part to persuade them, and I on my part will make use of another messenger in addition, for fear they will suspect you.

I have sent to Mr. Vallé your permit to trade with the Indians; and if you come to Sant Louis as you notify me I shall have some directions to give you with reference to the permit, so that you may exactly fulfil the ideas of the Governor General.

I have the honor to be, sir, your very humble, etc.,

(Signed) ZENON TRUDEAU.

Chief Metepouissa declared to me that he had not come to seduce our people. He was even confused when I imputed this design to him and wanted me to tell him who had made this report, which I was not willing to let him know.

Twenty-second Document:]

Fort Celeste, Nouvelle Madrid, September 6, 1793.

SIR:

As you will pass near a Loup village where they are holding an assembly to dance, I will ask you to stop there and to speak particularly to Chief le Point du Jour [Dawn]. I wish you would refresh his memory as to the promise which he gave me long since, to have had brought and delivered to me the murderers of the five men killed below Les Écores on the Mississippi. I strongly urge you to call upon him in my behalf to fulfil his promises. I rely with confidence upon them to the end that justice may be done and that such ill doers may be punished with death, as befits their crime. You may represent to him that we have given them complete satisfaction for those of their people killed at St. Louis, as to which I appeal to you and cite you as a witness about them all — you who have acted as interpreter on that occasion and who have aided in bringing to a peaceful settlement this unfortunate and delicate affair. As for the Chavuesnons, of whose good intentions you have given me information, you will say to them that I am very well pleased and have not had any doubt of their good will. You may add that I urge them to remain firm in the same sentiments, and that as soon as their brothers on the rivers below shall have informed me that they are ready to march I shall let them know in order that they may join them and make a large force. In the meanwhile, let them with good will smoke the pipe of tobacco which I send them. They may go away on the chase, only telling you where they may be looked for in case of need. Do not forget to give me immediate information as to the disposition of the Loups with reference to these murderers whom I demand of them, to the end that I may inform the Governor-General of this province. I repose entire confidence in your zeal and capacity as to that which concerns the interest of His Majesty and I am with esteem and regard,

Sir, your very, etc.,
(Signed) TOMAS PORTELL.

Twenty-third Document:]

St. Genovieve, September 10, 1793.

SIR:

It was very late last evening when I received your letter. I take advantage this morning of the instant which I have to remain at this post to answer it, being obliged to depart as soon as my letter is written. Since you are now in a jurisdiction which has not the least dependence upon me, I have no orders at all to give you. Accordingly, you must conform to all the directions of Mr. Portell with reference to the commission which he has given you as to the Loups and Chavuesnons Indians. So far as concerns an individual named La Source [The Spring], it is of very great importance for the tranquillity of the province that the disorders of which he has been guilty should be repressed. I am going immediately to send an official report to Mr. Portell so that he may control his conduct and cut short the evils which may arise as a result of it.

Mr. Portell is in a little too much of a hurry to inform the Indians of the intended blow, considering the number of men whom I can yet raise in Illinois. Besides I think this is not the advantageous moment to raise a force. Before we reach that tribe, they will already be away on their winter hunting. In my view the most suitable moment will be from the month of May to the tenth of August. During this period the villages are reunited, and the crops will already be in a state to furnish our people with provisions for their return.

I am well aware that it requires much prudence to demand of the Loups the satisfaction required by Mr. Portell; yet it is essential in carrying out the project. Since this is not a matter with which I am concerned it is with that Commandant that you must come to an understanding.

I absolutely needed to see you, because of the war with the Ozages and other reasons. Since my stay here cannot be continued any longer, and since you find yourself occupied by Mr. Portell, I shall have to do without meeting you unless without injury to the service of the King you could come before the end of the week to St. Louis, where I am going in order to find a convenient occasion to go to Nouvelle Orleans. On this journey I have to give a report upon affairs with reference to which you can inform me.

Continue your zeal in the service of the King and endeavor to send a statement to me as well as to Mr. Portell of the exact number of men who can be furnished us by the Loups and the Chavuesnons in case of an expedition against the Ozages, so that I may know the total number of those whom I can have, including both Indians and whites, for the complete success of our campaign.

I have the honor to be, sir, perfectly yours, etc.,

(Signed) ZENON TRUDEAU.

Mr. Lorimier.

Twenty-fourth Document:]

St. Genevieve, December 10, 1793.

SIR:

I have received your letter and the declaration of Mr. Coyteaux against the man named La Source. I shall have the latter arrested if he makes his appearance in my district and I am going to write to Casca Rien[*] against him. You may say for me to the Chavuesnons and the Pyans that they are to pay no attention to the speeches of this wicked man; that they are to arrest him wherever they find him on this side, and to bring him prisoner to Nouvelle Madrid. Say to them also, that I know that the Governor has the greatest confidence in you; that he told me so when I was at Nouvelle Orleans.

---

[*] Probably transcriber's error for Casca Kien, meaning Kaskaskia, where the La Source family resided and where this Michel la Source received a land grant for military services. The latter probably was active in favor of the projected Genet invasion and circulated reports in favor of the French among the Indians.

I have the honor to be, sir, your very humble servant,

(Signed) HENRI PEYROUX,
Commandant at Ste. Genovieve.

Twenty-fifth Document:]

Ste. Genovieve, December 14, 1793.

I have, my dear sir, been greatly pleased to receive news of you. I should have been even more pleased, as would Mr. Zenon Trudeau, if it had been possible to see you here during his stay in this place. I feel as strongly as you do the necessity of making vigorous war against the Ozages, but we must admit that in order to make attack successfully and without danger of any reverses, the forces of several posts must be gathered. Now this necessarily requires combinations and much time; yet I feel certain that this war is a governmental necessity, and this is what we must make the Indians understand. I wrote again today to Mr. Trudeau to urge him to employ all possible means to arrest the man named Michel la Source, of the person of whom it is really very important to assure ourselves in order to make an example of him by severe punishment. I sympathize very sincerely with your embarrassment as to the commission laid on you by Mr. Portell with reference to the tribe of Loups. I think you might evade carrying it out under the circumstances by sending word to Mr. Portell that upon your return you were so much indisposed as the result of your fatigue that you could not execute his commission in spite of your desire to do so.

I have the honor, etc.,

(Signed) DE LUZIERE.

Mr. Lorimier.

Twenty-sixth Document:]

Ste. Genovieve, December 21, 1793.

I take advantage, my dear Lorimier, of the courier sent you to urge you strongly not to fail to go as soon as he arrives to L'Anse a la Graisse. The Baron directs me to exhort you to forget at this moment, at which the interests of the King and the Colony are exposed and threatened by greatest dangers, all your resentment against the person whom it is useless for me to name to you, and to occupy yourself in concert with him only with the good of the King our master and our Country.

I am moreover certain that you have only yourself to praise for these proceedings which manifest so much confidence in you. It is needless for me to speak to you of the zeal and courage which you should employ in the business so important for the Colony, with which you are charged by the King and the Government. You have already given too many proofs of your way of acting on similar occasions, and the Governor-General has too much confidence in the precious value of your services, for me to need to stimulate you on this point; but the only thing which I cannot urge upon you sufficiently is that you should go promptly to L'Anse de la Graisse.[1]

I am etc.,

(Signed) De Luzieres.

Mr. Lorimier.

Certification.]

The copies of the previous letters are in conformity with the original.

L. Largeau (rubric).

---

[1] New Madrid.

LXXXI

JOURNAL OF LORIMIER DURING THE THREATENED GENET INVASION OF LOUISIANA — 1793-1795

General Archives of the Indies, Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba; Cap Girardeau, December 27, 1793-1795.

Note: It has been necessary in the translation of this document to make numerous conjectures, due for the most part probably, to inaccuracies in transcription. Such conjectures are followed by the original words in brackets, or are queried.

Cap Girardeau, December 27, 1793.

It is to be observed that the official communication written me by Monsieur Don Thomas Portell, Commandant of Fort Celeste and Nouvelle Madrid, under the date of December 15, 1793, was sent to me only on the 27th of the said month, having been at Sainte Gennevieve in the hands of Monsieur Don Henry Peyrous and sent back here. On the said day, I left for Nouvelle Madrid, distant thirty leagues[1] from this post, in order to put myself at the orders of Monsieur Portell.

December 29, I arrived at Nouvelle Madrid, where I put myself at the orders of Monsieur Portell, and to act as interpreter for the savage tribes, and the despatches, according to the desires of Monsieur the Commandant.

1794

January 1st. I have received from Monsieur Don Thomas Portell instructions for the investigations of the maneuvers of [at] Vincennes, etc., for the invitations of the savage tribes in order that they might join us, and to furnish them the things that they needed, both war supplies and provisions, presents, arms, etc.

The 2d. I departed from Nouvelle Madrid, in order to return to Cap Girardeau, to hasten the savages whom I should meet as well as those who might be at said Cap Girardeau, and in their camp of Chanes[2] in its environs.

---

[1] Should be "miles."

[2] Referring to the settlement of these Indians near Ste. Genevieve on the Saline — at a place still known as Big Shawnee Springs.

The 3d of the same month. Arrived at Cap Girardeau and sent the man named Daniel[3] to advise a band of Chaouesnons, Peorias, Miamis, and Peantquichia distant some 17 or 18 leagues, [miles] in order that they might not put off preparations.

January 4. I have taken Monsieur Louis François Largeau[4] into my service as secretary, as is specified in the instructions of Monsieur Don Portell.

The 5th of the said month. By means of 8 branches of porcelain and some tobacco (which is the custom among savage tribes) I have invited the chief of the Peorias, named Missa Rosanga, to summon all his people who are near Sainte Genovieve in their camp at Chanes.

The 6th of the same. Chief Nassa [*sic*] Rosanga has sent a young man to carry the word of invitation of their Spanish father with a letter which he addresses to Don François Vallé, which was understood to say to Paquireoua: "Consider among the tribes the question of leading all their men to the rendezvous which will be pointed out to them, and of coming in company with the Loups whom one has gone to advise in their camp at Chanes."

The 7th of the same. I left by water this morning, accompanied by three savages, and a man named Daniel, for the mouth of the Ohio, distant 15 leagues from this place, to see things there and urge the workmen who are making the canoes to take all the measures advisable for penetrating the designs of the enemy, by sending scouts down along the Belle Riviére [*i. e.*, the Ohio] and other places, in order to encourage the Cherakis, who must have returned to this place, and to invite all the savages whom I could see and meet, especially a band of Miamis who I have been told are located along the river. At nightfall I reached the mouth of the Belle Riviére.

The 8th of the same. I have returned to the river of Fort Clark.[5] I have been greatly surprised at not finding any Cherakis, but only a band of Chaouesnons, whom I have induced to cross to this bank. I have learned by means of this same tribe that Metipouiosa, chief of the Chaouesnons (whom Monsieur the Governor of Nouvelle Orleans has decorated with a medal), coming from the chief Les

---

[3] A Nicolas Daniel was an Indian trader — at one time at St. Louis — and is possibly the one referred to here.

[4] Largeau, it seems, acted as his secretary, while he lived on the Saline.

[5] Not clear to what place this refers. See note 7, p. 61.

Maskon last summer, was preparing to set out for the same place with other Chaouesnons, whom he engages to follow him, and this on the news of the approach of the enemy. Upon receiving such advice, I determined to send him a word in the name of his father (Monsieur Don Portell), as I find it advantageous to make use of his name, to detain them, and come to aid him in repulsing his enemies.

I have learned also that Sieur Barsaloux[6] has said in passing the city in this place that there were 50 men at the entrance of the Cumberland River, and that they were awaiting a greater number. The men engaged to make canoes have reached this place.

January 9th: Riviére Fort Clark.[7] Since the men assigned to make the canoes did not work in the morning, they were told to commence work on the canoes. They made answer to me that they would like to know how much they were going to be paid. I told them that I knew nothing about it but that I was sure that the King would pay them well. They asked me who was going to guard them during their work. I answered them that there was no guard for the present, but that I would guard them myself. They only answered me that all that I said to them was not at all an assurance, and that the enemy might come and massacre them during their work. As I found in them only opposition to my responses, I made them the proposition to come to make their canoes at Cap Girardeau, according to the custom of the savages of the neighborhood, and where there was no danger. They told me that they did not wish to come so far, that they feared for their families, and that they wished to put them in safety. The savages have even represented to them that they were making it impossible for them to scout, if there are no canoes, and have assured them that they did not need to have any anxiety about their families, that their father would take care of them. They told them several other things, in order to induce them to stay, but without being able to succeed in it.

I had Pennaoues and Chapoutousa set out with messages in order to go to look for the chiefs of the Chaouesnons who are four days' march distant from here on the east bank [of the river].

January 10, 1794: Riviére du Fort Clarke. I asked the Berthiaume[8] brothers, who trade in this place, to send the Cherakis to scout along the Cumberland River and other places; and also to send them to invite their people to come promptly; and if they report any particulars of the enemy, to give immediate advice to Monsieur Don Thomas Portell, as well as to me.

---

[6] Jean Baptiste Barsaloux, a trader in New Madrid, and probably related to Nicolas Barsaloux of St. Louis.

[7] The Kaskaskia — Fort Clark, or Fort Gage, opposite Kaskaskia, captured by Clark. But it may also refer to the small creek at "Fort Jefferson," erected by order of Gen. Clark — a few miles below the mouth of the Ohio.

The two Ste. Maries[9] have set out on their return to Nouvelle Madrid, and the men called Drouint[10] and St. Antoine[11] have resolved to embark with me to go to Cap Girardeau in order to continue their enterprise and finish their month.

During the time that I was at Riviére du Fort Clarke, several Chaouesnons came to see me and told me that they well knew that the Frenchman who was coming was their Father, and that they had learned it from the traders, merchants, and other persons who voyage in this neighborhood, considering me as "this our Father the Frenchman who is coming."[12] I did not give them any answer at this moment, refraining from speaking to them.

Having learned that there were two defended boats at the Belle Riviére, and that they were coming up the Missisipi, I left immediately to join them, which I did during the night. One of them belonged to Monsieur La Fourcade,[13] and came from Cumberlan[d] whence it had departed on the 5th of the present month. The other belonged to Monsieur Baronseil,[14] and came from Poste Vincenne[s], whence it had set out the 6th [?] of the present month. They told me that they had not seen any enemies at the mouth of the Cumberland River or any other places; that they were not passing; and that they would come only in March. Monsieur Lefourcade reports that 25 men are about to come to build a redoubt at the mouth of the said Cumberland River, and that honorable Americans disclaim this proceeding. There is a man in his boat, who comes from Cumberland[15] charged with letters for Monsieur Don Thomas Portell. I shall have them sent to him as soon as I [he] arrive[s].

---

[8] There were three Berthiaumes — François, Noel, and Hyacinthe. François, settled among the Shawnees, was a gunsmith, and married to a Shawnee. His daughter Marie married Lorimier after the death of his first wife.

[9] The St. Maries came from Vincennes to New Madrid.

[10] Probably Antoine Drouet, dit Richardville, also from Vincennes.

[11] Possibly St. Aubin.

[12] This passage is greatly confused in the transcript, and the translation is only tentative.

[13] La Fuillarde?

[14] This may be Pierre Billet. dit Beausoliel — a resident of Vincennes.

[15] The settlement of James Robertson, where Nashville now stands.

January 11. I have been damaged by the wind.

The 12th of the same month. I left the boat and returned afoot to Cap Girardeau, at 11 o'clock at night. Announcement was made to me that a messenger from the mouth of the Belle Riviére, named Savua Rechika, a Chaouesnon, reported that there was a great number of armed Americans who had embarked on the night of the 11th at the mouth of the said Belle Riviére. This news was diffused among the savages of the neighborhood, who have consequently all begun to get ready to cross from the east to this west bank [of the river].

I have been told that a courier sent by Monsieur Portell to Monsieur Don Peyrous had declared that he had verbal orders to tell me to send for my letters to Ste. Gennevieve, which were enclosed in the packet of Monsieur Peyrous. My representative attended to it by sending a person from this place to get the said letters. That same day, the 8th of the present month, another courier, despatched by Monsieur Don Henry Peyrous to Monsieur Don Portell, passed.

January 13, 1794; Cap Girardeau. The Chaouesnons, Piantquichia,[16] Miamis, and Peorias have transferred a portion of their baggage to this bank. The courier named l'Empeigne,[17] sent by Monsieur Don Portell to Ste. Gennevieve, arrives here from this last post with Nicholas la Chance, who had been sent to get my letter, which they have sent me. This letter missive instructs me that from 60 to 80 men are about to set out from Ecor Rouges[18] to strike a blow at Ste. Gennevieve, and for me to be on my guard at the entrance of Belle Riviére. The journey made by this letter before it was delivered to me would certainly have made me succumb to the enemy if they had come in great numbers; but I am taking the wisest precautions in order that I may not be surprised at any time.

A courier arrived from the entrance of the Belle Riviére, Paispamerchika, a Chaouesnons, who destroyed the announcement of yesterday, and says that it was a false alarm occasioned by the sight of a dog and a canoe of friendly savages.

The following day, January 13, 1794; Cap Girardeau. I have written to Monsieur Don Thomas Portell to ask him for some white men for the entrance of Belle Riviére as well as 10 or 12 Frenchmen for greater promptness in sending the express, and so that they might go with me or with the savages, to places where it will be necessary for the good of the service.

---

[16] Piankishaws.

[17] Jean Baptiste Racine, dit L'Empeigne. See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 157.

[18] Red Banks, the present Henderson, Kentucky.

January 14. The courier named l'Empeigne left here for Nouvelle Madrid. I have given him a horse, and he has written to Monsieur Portell by Alexandre Samson[19] who has charge of the conduction of an express coming from Cumbe[r]land, with a letter for Monsieur Portell from Col. Robertson.

I have sent the Chaouesnon, named Raniska, to tell the Cherakis to take courage to make daily scouting expeditions, as far as the Cumberland River and other places which I have indicated to them.

The 15th. The workmen have commenced to work at the canoes.

Last night I went to the lodges of the chief Chaouesnons, and when they were well assembled, they held the following discourse with me; namely, that several Frenchmen, named Barsaloux, La Gotteria[20] Drouillars,[21] and Chaudillon,[22] etc., had told them with rejoicing and marks of great joy and satisfaction that it was the Frenchman who was coming, not for the purpose of doing them any evil, but to take back their country and to treat them as his children.

January 16, 1794. Monsieur Don Henry Peyrous, Commandant a Ste. Genevieve reached this post at 4:45 with 12 men destined for Nouvelle Madrid. He was saluted by the Chaouesnons, Miamis, Piant, and Peorias with a salute of three salvos of musketry which was answered with one salvo. We expected to see a larger number of warriors, but we have been told that a part of them had deserted on the other bank. Monsieur Joseph le Sieur,[23] who had been sent to get the Loups went with Monsieur Peyrous, and said that the Loups were about to come by canoe. It has also been said that the Peorias refused to join the savages of this place. It is to be presumed that they have been deterred by the inhabitants of the village of Ste. Genevieve, who have told them that it was their father the Frenchman who was coming—a fact that has made those here complain, and might cause them to relax in their zeal.

---

[19] Settled in New Madrid in 1791.

[20] Ignace la Gouthrie lived at Kaskaskia, probably related to, or a son of, Edward la Gouthrie, who was an Indian interpreter and came from Canada with Lieutenant Frazier to Fort de Chartres in 1765.

[21] See *ante*, vol. i, p. 338, note 12.

[22] Perhaps Jean Baptiste Chantillon. He was the first cultivator of Prairie Catalan, adjacent to Carondelet.

[23] One of the first settlers of New Madrid. See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 106.

The 17th of the same month, Monsieur Henry Peyrous has left this post and has not spoken with the savages. They have been surprised that a Commandant should not say "Good-day" in passing (or as they express it, that he has not given them a single cup to drink or anything to smoke).

Continuation of January 17th, 1794; Cap Girardeau. I have written to Monsieur Don Portell reiterating my request that he place a white guard at the mouth of the Belle Riviére.

The 18th of the said month. I sent Sieur Langlois[24] with a letter to Monsieur Don Francisco Vallé[25] in order to ask him to hasten the march of the Loups.

The Chaouesnon named Minien [*sic*] repeated the following conversation to me which he had with Petit Poisson [*i. e.*, Little Fish], a Peoria, namely, that when the Peorias received the message which I sent to their chief Massarosanga to invite them to come to join the others, they went to find Monsieur Pratte[26] and asked him what was to be done. He answered them that he would not tell them to go, neither would he tell them to stay. In the second place, he told them to come to guard their village and their land; that they were here formerly; but he was next to them and that he would do the same.

The 19th. François Racine arrived here with a despatch from Monsieur Don Portell for Monsieur Don Zenon Trudeau and for me. He had another man with him to work at the boats. The price fixed by Monsieur Don Thomas Portell is one piastre per day.

The 20th. I went to Ste. Genevieve and carried the letters for Monsieur Zenon Trudeau.

The 22d. I reached Ste. Genevieve at 8 in the evening. At my lodging I found the courier l'Empeigne, who came from Nouvelle Madrid with the letters from Monsieur Don Portell for Don Francisco Vallé and for me, relative to the service.

Continuation of January 22d, 1794; Cap Girardeau. I learned accurately at Ste. Genevieve what could have turned away the Peorias. I have not been able to learn anything sure in this matter, but I have learned that the conversation of Petit Poison with Minmin [*sic*] on the 18th of the present month was a falsehood on the part of Petit Poisson, and that Monsieur Pratte is very zealous and is continually inviting and encouraging the Peorias by his discourses, and not to turn them away as has been reported heretofore.

---

[24] This is Jean Adrian Langlois.

[25] See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. i, p. 349, as to the Vallé family.

[26] Jean Baptiste Pratte.

The 23d. The courier l'Empeigne left [for] Nouvelle Madrid. I wrote to Monsieur Don Portell to notify him that the Loups had not arrived, and asked for an armorer.

I sent the Chaouesnon named Minmin to Ste. Genevieve to carry the despatches written to Monsieur Zenon Trudeau; to ask the latter for Monsieur St. Gem Beauais[27] who is very greatly esteemed by the savages; to inform him that there are bad men who are turning aside the savages; to ask him for 24 or 25 men whom Monsieur Don Portell engaged to provide me at Ste. Gennevieve. I wrote in similar terms to Monsieur François Vallé to hasten the Loups and to encourage the other savages.

The 25th. The savages have raised their camp from this place, in order to go hunting about a league away.

The 26th. Four workmen arrived in a pirogue with the express of Cumberland, bearing a letter from Monsieur Don Portell for the same place.

Continuation of the 26th of January, 1794; Cap Girardeau. The Chaouesnons Roger,[28] and Vuesnnen Peseé, sent by Don Zenon Trudeau arrived at this post. They brought me a letter from Don François Vallé which informs me that the Loups are coming with great zeal, and invites the other tribes.

The 27th. The Chaouesnon named Aouikaniska arrived from the iron mine.[29] He reports that he passed two men in a small canoe, who told him that the enemy was descending the Belle Riviere. The same was sent to Monsieur Don Portell in a letter.

The four workmen commenced work. Minmin arrived from Ste. Gennevieve with the despatches of Don François Vallé.

The 29th. The persons named Degagner[30] and Bienvenu[31] coming from Ecris [Ecors?] Rouge to Nouvelle Madrid passed this place, furnished with a passport. Nothing extraordinary is reported.

The 30th. Monsieur Menard[32] arrived at this post with a quantity of corn for the support of the savages.

---

[27] As to the Beauvais family — see Houck's History of Missouri, vol. i, p. 352.

[28] Lewis Rogers, a white chief of the Shawanees, living on the Maramec with his band.

[29] Near the present Columbus, Kentucky.

[30] De Gagne.

[31] Bienvenu, dit De Lisle.

[32] Pierre Menard.

Bonneau,[33] a workman, at the boats suffocated [*ser copié*, error for *suffoqué?*]; [or, possibly, *estropié*, disabled?].

The 31st. I sent the despatches by Monsieur Vandene Bendene[34] for Monsieur Don Thomas Portell.

The person named André Coderé[35] has commenced work on the pirogues.

February first, 1794. I sent Minmin to scout along the Belle Riviére, and to bring back his people who are in Chane[36] in this neighborhood.

Continuation of February first, 1794; Cap Girardeau. The men Roger and Ouesnenperis, and the envoy of Monsieur Don Thomas Portell left on this day for Ste. Genevieve.[37] I have charged the savages with the despatches of Monsieur Don Zenon Trudeau and Don François Vallé.

February 2. Le Corbeau [*i. e.*, the Crow] a highly regarded Loup has come to this post with the Miamis.

The 3d. L'Empeigne arrived from Nouvelle Madrid with the despatches for this place and for Ste. Gennevieve.

The 4th. Monsieur Langlois left with the despatches for Ste. Genevieve.

I have detained the courier l'Empeigne for the arrival of the Loups, which they have announced to me by a message of a bit of tobacco, painted red.

At 2 o'clock in the afternoon, they arrived at this post, and were saluted by three salvos of musketry, which was given them by the tribes here. They have had their war dances and songs for a part of the night.

February 5. I have held a special council with the Loup chiefs. They are all of a mind to fight and to invite their little Children to follow their example. They have charged me with the word which had been already among several tribes in order that it might be sent to Monsieur Don Portell. For that reason he smokes with all the savages who are near him and they have him told that they will be with him in six days to hear his word; and he has likewise invited them with the same bit of tobacco to be there.

---

[33] From Vincennes, but probably then a resident of New Madrid.

[34] Vandenbenden.

[35] From Vincennes.

[36] A village of the Shawnees; either on Apple Creek near Cape Girardeau or on the Saline. See note 2, *ante*.

[37] The arrangement of this passage is confused in the original, as if one part had been written in later than the other.

Continuation of February 5, 1794; Cap Girardeau. L'Empeigne left at 10 o'clock with the despatches and the bit of tobacco to take them to Monsieur Don Portell.

I sent the list of the day laborers employed by the workmen in the construction of the canoes.

At half past seven in the evening a courier arrived from Ste. Genevieve with the letters for Monsieur Don Thomas Portell, which I had sent on immediately. The same courier reports that several so-called French officers arrived at Post Vincenne with a number of men with the intentions of attacking this Colony.

I have had the Loups assembled as well as the other tribes, in order to hear the chief articles inserted in the instructions which Monsieur Don Portell has given me relative to the war and to the present circumstances which I have interpreted to them and repeated so that they might be intelligible to them.

The chief of the Loups named Le Point du Jour[38] [*i. e.*, Dawn] has answered that what their Spanish Father said was very good and very legitimate, and addressing himself to his Children (the other tribes) [told them] to follow the councils of their Father, and that the other chiefs who are with the Miamis have always told them to be tranquil and to do and to follow in everything the orders and wishes of their Spanish Father.

In order to affirm his word, he gave a bit of tobacco painted red and a pound of vermilion (which is the symbol of war among them).

He ordered his little Children (the other tribes) to send to get those who were distant, in order to assemble them all here. He has strongly urged [*oppinee*] [them] to watch over the rivers and road for fear of surprise.

February 6. Two Loups left this morning to go to carry the despatches of Monsieur Zenon Trudeau to Nouvelle Madrid.

The chief of the Loups has come to report to me that the powder which he had received above was not good and desired that I give him some more, and asked me to examine the sad condition of the women and children who are all naked and worthy of pity.

I had him answered that I was expecting Monsieur Don François Vallé, with whom I would take council in regard to what was to be done for them. Monsieur Don François Vallé arrived at this post

[38] A Pottowatomie, known as Wau-bun-see, celebrated in the Indian wars. See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. i, p. 213.

at 4 o'clock in the afternoon accompanied by nine gentlemen. He was received and saluted with a discharge of muskets by all the savages.

February [illegible] Two Chichachis arrived at this post with a Chaouesnon named Jacob. They told us that there were 20 Americans at the mouth of the Cumberland River who were constructing a redoubt there. They said also that a boat is coming up the river with the family of Monsieur le Chevalier de Luziere,[39] whom the said Jacob met above the Grand *Detorer*[40]. They told him that they had passed the night and that there were some men at the mouth of the said Riviére, and that that boat comes from La Chute [*i. e.*, the Falls]. Together with Monsieur François Vallé, I have sent 4 men from the pirogue dockyard to meet the said boat, and three men from the detachment of Monsieur François Vallé in order to hasten the coming up of the said boat to this post, and to send us immediately news of the equipment that can be made at the said Chute, of the position of their armies, and whether they have commenced to clear the way for the attack of our posts, and the one which they could commence to attack.

I have had the six savage tribes advised to come to the harangue which Monsieur Don Zenon Trudeau is going to have made them in the name of the Governor-General of Louisiane. Those tribes are the Abnakiron [*i. e.*, Abenakis], Loups, Chaouesnons, Piantquichias, Miamis, Peorias, and Outabuas.[41]

February 8. The two Miamis who have been scouting since the first of the present month, have arrived. They have seen nothing extraordinary on the Belle Riviére.

The savages have assembled to hear the harangue which Monsieur Don François Vallé together with myself made them at the order of Monsieur Don Zenon Trudeau, in the name of the Governor-General.

---

[39] Commandant of New Bourbon. As to particulars, see Houck's History of Missouri, vol. i, p. 364.

[40] This probably refers to a stretch of the Mississippi, known then as Grand de Tour, or big bend, above Cairo.

[41] Ottawas.

Harangue made to the six tribes together at Cap Girardeau, namely the Abnakis, Chaouesnons, Piantquichia, Miamas, Peorias, and Outaouas, by the order of Monsieur Don Zenon Trudeau, in the name of Monsieur the Governor-General of Luisiana.

MY CHILDREN:

I speak to you today in the name of your Father, the Great Chief of Luisiane in order to make you remember with what goodness of soul he has extended his arm when you came to his lands. He has received you as a good Father. His kindness has been extended even to giving you lands to cultivate by planting and hunting in order that you may support your wives and your children.[a] He has invited you to live peacefully with all the other tribes, to keep tranquil, holding your pathway clear and even, and has encouraged you to make your said land of value, so that their products may cause you to live in abundance.

Hitherto, my Children, I have seen with satisfaction that you have kept your word as to your tranquillity. But the moment has come when there is going to be trouble, from men who rule themselves, and are not led by their true chief. These are bad Frenchmen and bad Americans, who have all abandoned their good sentiments and their understanding is completely blocked.

Have not these bad people, my Children, who have been mentioned to us, already driven you from your lands to this point? They ought to be contented and satisfied, and not harm you in those lands which you have asked from your Father, who has been very greatly pleased to grant them to you, for he regards you all as his true Children.

Your Father, my Children, was delighted to receive you and to give you an asylum, so that, as I have already told you, your wives and children could live in peace. Hence, since he advises you that they are trying today to trouble his peace, it is for you to show that you are under obligation to him for having withdrawn you from the embarrassment in which you were and for having received you with open arms.

Do not listen, my Children, to evil persons who daily flutter about your ears, and who do not cease to entertain you with an evil song, and try to turn you from well doing. Listen only to your Father who speaks to you, for he does it sincerely and from the bottom of his heart, and you will be all right.

---

[a] This refers to the fact that the Spaniards invited these Indians to settle west of the river, after being defeated by the Americans in their wars in Ohio and Indiana.

What will your Father, the great chief, who has given you these same lands say, my Children, if they are taken from your hands by these wicked people? He will be able to say that you were [?] the children whom he loved dearly, but that you were for the present without courage; that you have neglected to occupy your lands, although he believed that in giving them to you, you were capable of guarding them. It is this of which I am thinking and which I invite you to do.

Hence, my Children, let each one of you watch and observe the maneuvers and the march of those people who are coming to trouble your peace, and let us all put our hands to it. As soon as I shall be assured I shall advise you, and you shall do the same so far as I am concerned, in order that we may be able to take all the precautions necessary to assemble together, and to aid one another, I beg you to take courage. Let all the chiefs be vigilant, and fear not to harangue their young men, and let them not allow them to sleep too much for fear of a surprise.

Take courage, my Children; the Master of Life, who sees your just cause, and ours, will give you, as well as us, sufficient strength to enable you to repulse those who are trying to drive you from our possessions.

Monsieur Langlois returns from Ste. Genevieve, where he has been with despatches.

February 9. The two Loup savages, sent to Nouvelle Madrid on the 6th of the present month to carry despatches to Monsieur Don Thomas Portell, have returned, and have given me a letter. They report that the savages present at that post of Nouvelle Madrid have received the message of tobacco sent by the chief of the Loups with joy and satisfaction and conform to his wishes.

They announce that two Chicachias have been killed by the Peorias near Nouvelle Madrid.

The 10th. Together with Monsieur Don François Vallé, I have given a receipt to one Duglas who was going to Cumberland for the quantity of five plates and two bits of lead weighing 593 livres,[illegible] at the rate of 8 [piastres?] per livre.

[illegible] The livre is a French weight equivalent to 1 lb. 1 oz. 10½ dr. avoirdupois, or 1 lb. 4 oz. 1 dwt. 13 gr., troy.

I have charged all those who meet Sieur Bazile la Chapelle[44] when going [*amis allant, in transcript*] to Cumberland, to aid him in case of insult.

We learn from the said Sieur la Chapelle that the news of the assembly of 1,500 men at post Vicenne [*i. e.*, Vincennes] is false.

February 11. Two Chaousnon couriers have left to go to Belle Riviére to get others of their people and to scout.

Monsieur Don François Vallé left this post at 1 o'clock and was saluted by all the savages with several salvos of musketry. I wrote to Monsieur Zenon Trudeau.

Netompsica, a highly regarded Chaouesnon, arrived at this post. Four Loups leave to scout about the mouth of the Cumberland River.

The four men of the dockyard sent to the boat have returned. I received a letter from Barthelemy Rich[illegible]d Espion,[45] who informs me that he was able to see there for the present only 350 men engaged and that he does not believe that they will come so soon. He appears to be acting as an honest man, and to be taking all the precautions that he told me that he would take. He went to find Madame de Luziere at the Chute during the night and entrusted her with this letter. He asked her to say that she had not seen him. He warned her as I had advised him, not to let the savages see her en route.

The 12th. Four Outaouas arrived from the interior. Nothing extraordinary is reported. Pierre Mercier, the workman, is not working.

I have had the honor to write to Monsieur the Baron de Carondelet.

The 13th. The Peorias have arrived with two Chichachia scalps. They announced themselves by two death cries and by salvos of musketry. Those salutes were not given back to them, for the reason that the Chicachias are allies of the Loups and other tribes present at this post.

Netompsica, bearer of the message of the Chaouesnons from the village of the Riviére St. François said that when they came to this country they were promised all assistance, and that those who molested them would be punished; that they have lived in good relations with the tribes, except that of the Ossages who maltreat them; that a war was proclaimed against them but that war has been avoided by delays, or by other pretexts; that their Spanish Fathers had had no need of them at that time, but at present they are summoning them in their necessity; that this is very embarrassing for them, as they do not know where to place their families in order that they may be sheltered from the courses of the Ossages and from those of the American enemy.

---

[44] A resident of Kaskaskia, a trader.

[45] That is to say, Barthélemi Richard, the spy. He was a prominent resident of Kaskaskia, where he had a number of land claims. He owned a grant of 1,000 arpens in the Cape Girardeau district, likely based on his services during this time. His wife was Pelagie Morin, also of Kaskaskia. He was a trader or negociant and did business in early St. Louis.

The 14th. I have written to Monsieur Don Portell by means of Monsieur Cerré[46] on the subject of the porcelain, asking whether he wishes to buy it for the service. Sixteen Peorias have come to hold a council in regard to their condition.

The 15th. The four Loups, who left to go scouting on the 11th of the present month, arrived here at 3:30 in the afternoon. They report that having shot at a deer on the north bank of the Belle Rivière, the report of their guns was answered by cries, and a man appeared on the other shore who was found to be of their tribe. He told them that he had hunted with 40 Cherakis, 8 Maskous, and 2 Loups — altogether 50 men — on the Cheralkis[47] and Cumberland rivers, and that they had seen no signs of an enemy; that the Cherakis and Maskous made continual war on the people of Cumberland, and had stolen their horses from them, and [were warring against] a portion of those redskins [*rouges*]; and that they had enough to do with them in defending themselves.

The 16th. Several Outaouas have arrived, who reported nothing extraordinary.

The 17th. A band of Loups coming from Nouvelle Madrid arrived at this post. They saluted with a fusilade from their guns which was answered by those present at this said post. I received a letter from Monsieur Don Thomas Portell, dated the 10th of the present month.

The 18th. Madame Zenon Trudeau arrived at this post at 3:45. She was entrusted with letters by Monsieur the Governor-General for Messieurs Portell and Beauregard.

The barge of Monsieur Menard, coming from Nouvelle Madrid, its crew said that one named l'Ardoise [48] [*i. e.*, the Slate] had told them that he had heard a cannon-shot in the neighborhood of the Cumberland River.

---

[46] Gabriel Cerré, then the leading merchant of St. Louis. See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 47.

[47] Tennessee.

The 20th (*sic*). Messieurs Menard [49] and Vadnen [*sc.*, Vandenbenden] [50] arrived from Nouvelle Madrid, have delivered me a letter from Monsieur Don Thomas Portell, and one from Barthelemy Richard, dated January 13, 1794, in the same manner as that received by Madame de Luziere.

The 21st. The Loups had Monsieur Don François Vallé asked to come to this post on the 4th of next March where all the savages of this district will be assembled. I wrote to Monsieur François Vallé in accordance with this.

The Loups set out for Nouvelle Madrid to the number of 25 men, to go to look for the remainder of their people and to speak to Monsieur Don Thomas Portell, who asked for them.

22d. Joseph la Plante, a courier, arrives at this post, coming from Nouvelle Madrid with despatches by [for] Monsieur Zenon Trudeau and Valle. The workmen worked until noon.

February 23, 1794; Cap Girardeau. At noon I left for Nouvelle Madrid, in response to the orders of Monsieur Don Thomas Portell; and the person named Girous [51] arrives from Ste. Genevieve. He delivered me the 95 livres of bacon sent by Don François Vallé. I have given order to Monsieur Largeau to continue the present.

The 24th. Monsieur Langlois [set out] for Ste. Genevieve with the despatches of Monsieur Don Thomas Portell for Messieurs Don Zenon Trudeau and Don François Vallé. The workmen did not work the 23d of the present month.

The 25th. The person named Giroux has commenced to work. The Outaouas arrived at the east bank and could not cross, because of the crush [*charoyage*] of ice. Ouapipelené [52] and his band of Chaouesnons have arrived at this post.

---

[48] This probably is Antoine Vachard — or Mimi Varchard, dit L'Ardoise, who at this time was a resident of New Madrid. He was a son of Louis Vachard, a native of Montreal, who married Isabelle Bisette, a sister and one of the heirs of Charles Bisette. Antoine afterward lived in St. Louis.

[49] Pierre Menard, of Kaskaskia.

[50] Louis Vandenbenden, a native of Flanders, was appointed engineer of upper Louisiana by Carondelet. He came from Gallipolis to New Madrid.

[51] Jacque Goriaux?

[52] Wapepillose, afterwards with Dodge on the Missouri, and in 1835, chief of the Shawnee village where Bloomfield now stands.

The 28th. I arrived from Nouvelle Madrid in answer to the orders of Monsieur de Thomas Portell.

The first of March, 1794. Monsieur Cerré arrived from Nouvelle Madrid by water. He saw nothing extraordinary.

Monsieur Langlois arrived here from Ste. Genevieve with the despatches for Monsieur Portell and me.

I wrote to Monsieur François Vallé asking him to come to this post in answer to the request of the savages.

The Loups have held their council in Nouvelle Madrid. Monsieur Don Portell has approved all that was said and done at the council held February 8 at this post. Their chief has arrived here.

The 2d. The person named Alexandre Samson arrived at this post with the person named l'Empeigné and Maisonville[63] from Nouvelle Madrid. He reports nothing extraordinary.

March 3, 1794; Cap Girardeau. The persons named François Langlois and Alexis Maurice worked until noon. I have engaged them to go with Alexandre Samson to Ecois [Ecors?] to carry out the orders of Monsieur de Portell.

Two Miamis set out to go look for their chief. I gave Alexandre Samson the writing above mentioned.

The intentions of the government of Spain are that all the subjects of the United States of America shall not be made anxious or molested in their trading or in their routes by any subject or friend of his Catholic Majesty. He invites those who shall have flour, bacon, corn, etc., to sell, that it will be received, and that they will be paid by the said government at the prices which they settle with the persons destined to make the purchase.

The 4th. Alexandre Samson left this post as 6 o'clock in the morning with François Lang[l]ois and Alexis Maurice for the mission above mentioned. I have delivered to the said Samson 50 livres of castor[64] in order that he may enter the American posts under pretext of purchasing certain articles, in order to elude the suspicion which might be conceived of his mission.

The persons named Paul la Deroute and Andres Giroux left for Nouvelle Madrid with the despatches for Monsieur Don Thomas Portell.

The 5th. The person named Pap[illegible]koua, a highly regarded Chaouesnon, arrived at this post.

[63] This is likely the Maisonville, who married the sister of Tecumseh.

[64] Beaver skins.

March 6; Cap Girardeau. The two Miamis have arrived and have left their people behind, as they have some sick and no horses to carry their belongings.

The 7th. Seeing that the workmen were not advancing my desires, I sent for two of my blacks to work at their dockyards, and one negress to cook their food.

The 8th. Monsieur Don François Vallé arrived at this post at 9 in the morning with an escort of six men. He was received by the savages with discharges of musketry. He comes to encourage them and to talk to them.

At 2 o'clock a courier arrived from Nouvelle Madrid with despatches, coming from Natchez, for Monsieur Don Zenon Trudeau. It is said that three galleys were about to come to Nouvelle Madrid.

I have sent five horses with two men ahead of the Miamis to aid them in transporting their sick and belongings.

The 9th. Monsieur Langlois has left Ste. Genevieve to carry the despatches coming from Nouvelle Madrid in order that they may be sent promptly to St. Louis.

The 10th. The person named Chandillon,[85] a courier, arrived at this post at 4 in the afternoon with the despatches for Monsieur Don Zenon Trudeau, François Vallé, and me. They inform us that a reënforcement of two thousand men, Maskous, Cherakis, and Chactas, is about to appear on the banks of the Belle Riviére. Three galleys are ascending from Nouvelle Orleans with troops and artillery where there are the mouths of 16 [? *ou il y a des Bouches de 16;* or *desboucher* — a possible translation in such case being "where they are to debouch with 16," *or,* "on the 16th'']. I have received some additional instructions for the reception of the said reënforcement, and have facilitated the passage by means of the punts [*chalans*] laden with mud [*? voüe*]. I have had the savages of this post invited in order to inform them of the new developments [?].

The 11th. The savages have all assembled and in the presence of Don François Vallé the announcement of the reënforcement which is coming was made to them. That has greatly pleased the said savages and the Loups have made a very eloquent harangue to all the other tribes, and have invited them to follow and execute all that was prescribed by their Spanish Father.

Monsieur Don François Vallé left at noon for Ste. Genevieve with his escort.

---

[85] See *ante*, p. 64, note 22.

Netompsica, a highly-regarded Chaouesnon, arrived with the *capias* [for *cartes* "letters" *capitaine*, "captain;" or *dépêche*, "despatch"] of the village after the conclusion of the council.

The person named Chandillon set out for Nouvelle Madrid, entrusted with despatches for Monsieur Don Thomas Portell.

Copy of the letter from Point du Jour, chief of the Loups:

MY FATHER:

Since the murderer (who committed the murder last year, and whom thou hast pardoned, and who had committed this crime in spite of the fact that I represented to them continually to keep tranquil and molest no one) is so infatuated with killing, I beseech thee, my Father, to have him told to come to rejoin me at the mouth of the Belle Riviére, as well as two of my children, and all the other Loups, who are near that place, and to make use of a bit of tobacco for that purpose.

May the Master of Life preserve thee, etc.

The 13th. Monsieur Langlois arrives from Ste. Genevieve with corn for the savages.

Monsieur Collell[66] arrived at 2 o'clock from Nouvelle Madrid, with despatches from Monsieur Don Portell. He announces that Alexandre Samson has been stopped in his mission, and that his letters were taken from him by 25 men who are at the mouth of the Cumberland River.

The 14th. I left this morning with four men for the mouth of the Belle Riviére. I told the savages that if I were not here within three nights, it is because the enemy is near. I gave orders to Monsieur Largeau to have all the boats launched, and to continue the present.

The 15th. The savages are preparing to descend the Belle Riviére.

The 16th. Monsieur Menard arrived at this post with his boat laden with corn for the support of the savages.

The band of Paranne,[67] a Miami, arrived at this post. Monsieur

---

[66] François Collell lived at New Madrid. He was a brother or relative of Bonaventura Collell, who lived in St. Louis, and married Constance, a daughter of Dr. Conde, but it being found that he had a wife in Barcelona, Spain, he absconded. In New Madrid, François sold some property belonging to Bonaventura, and from this I infer they were related.

[67] Pekan.

Lorimier arrived at the mouth of the Belle Riviére at 11 o'clock in the morning. He reports that there are 25 men at the entrance of the Cumberland River, and urges the savages to go to the mouth of the Belle Riviére. He delivers the corn to all the savages.

The 17th of March, 1794; Cap Girardeau. A boat descending to Nouvelle Madrid has brought some corn to this post for the support of the savages.

The savages have assembled and held the following council: "My Father: Since this winter thou hast told us to assemble with thee in order to fight our enemies. Thou hast wished to speak true, and we are in accord with thee. But we pray thee not to lie to us in anything, for we bear in mind all thou hast said to us, and hast had us told. Be zealous and to see to it that our wives and children do not lack for food during our absence, as well as we ourselves in the place where we shall go.

"Thou hast announced to us 2,000 men — Maskous, Cherakis, and Chactas. It will please us if they come, as well as the galleys and the great canoes, to the entrance of the Belle Riviére. Speak the truth my father, and be zealous in assembling the people. That will give us greater courage for fighting.

"We have asked thee several times for a gunsmith, whom we have not yet received. Our arms are in very bad condition, and a great part of us do not even possess any, as well as the small hatchets Send us some if thou hast any.

"We hope always my Father, that thou wilt send us the reënforcements as well as the galleys when they arrive. They have announced to us that the Sackis, Renards, and the Kikapoüe [are coming], but we do not see any of their men here.

"We again tell thee, my Father, to take courage and to always speak us true."

March 18. The Loups launched their canoe in preparation for their departure.

The 19th. Jacques Bo[illegible]d Charles Anglois[58] have arrived at this post with despatches from Monsieur Zenon Trudeau and François Vallé. Boats are expected from St. Louis laden with artillery.

The 20th. The person named l'Empigné arrived from Ste. Genevieve. He told the savages that there were 200 Americans at Kaskaskias who are about to cross to this shore. That has stopped the savages who were on the point of embarking to descend to the entrance of Belle Riviére, as they fear for their families. Monsieur Vallé made no mention of it in his letter. I sent the despatches by the said l'Empeigne. The Loups number 320 persons on this day, who are receiving food from His Catholic Majesty.

---

[58] Charles Langlois.

Four scouts are to set out near nightfall for the entrance of the Cumberland River.

The person named Pierre Mercier[59] has quit the dockyard on this day and has gone to Nouvelle Madrid.

Two Loups left for St. Louis to speak to the tribes. A pirogue that had left was carried away by the violence of the wind.

The Outaouas have sung their warsongs, and the other tribes are following their example. I wrote to Monsieur Portell, that I was ready to go with all the savages to the entrance of the Belle Riviére. The Chaouesnons held a council in which they said they were all ready whenever the enemy appeared, and that they were all going together.

March 21. I embarked with five men in a boat accompanied by three other boats full of Loups for the entrance of Belle Riviére. The Chaouesnon named Pecositais embarked with me. The chief came to tell him to wait a bit, and that they were all going to depart together. He made answer to the latter that he was going to see what was happening at the entrance [of the river], and that he would return quickly, in case that the enemy was said to be near, in order that they might all go together to attack him. Two other Chaouesnons embarked also with the intention of fighting well. My son, named Guillaume, aged 13, wished to accompany me also; and wishes to follow me in all my expeditions. I gave orders to Largeau to continue the presents.

March 22. Monsieur Coyteux[60] came to tell me that he had a conversation with Grand Poux and with Pacanne, Jr., who said that the white man here was deceiving them, and that if an army of French and Americans comes, the French would agree together [*i. e.*, those of the post and those with the Americans], that he would do the same for them; that after they were heaped with presents and given flour and a plentiful supply of food given to their wives and children and to them liquor to drink, after they have become drunk, the French will kill them. As it is probable that these discourses come either from the enemy or from ours who are disgruntled against the government who breathe into their ears a thousand violences in order to arrest the good dispositions which they have, it is even to be feared that they will turn their army against us if the source of all this evil tattle is not discovered.

---

[59] This Pierre Mercier originally from Kaskaskia.

[60] See *ante*, p. 46, note 5.

The person named Drouin did not work after dinner.

The 23d. François Ste. Marie[61] passed on his way with despatches from Nouvelle Madrid to Sante Gennevieve.

The 24th. A batteau passed this morning and a pirogue laden with artillery and escorted by 44 men. On passing they sent us 12 quarts of flour and some tobacco which were sent by Don François Vallé.

Chandillon arrived at this post with the despatches on his way from Nouvelle Madrid to Ste. Genevieve. He went to the entrance of the Belle Riviére and delivered me a letter from Monsieur Lorimier which told me that he had set out to scout along the entrance of the Cumberland River, on the 22d of the present.

I have despatched a savage to carry the letters to Don François Vallé at Ste. Gennovieve.

La Pensee has arrived from Kaskaskia, with the articles of ammunition asked for by the savages.

March 25, 1794; Cap Girardeau. La Lotte has left the dockyard where he has not worked since the 23d of the present month, to go to Nouvelle Madrid with Chandillon and Berthiaume.

The Chaouesnon named Navauteé arrived from Nouvelle Madrid and told several particulars to his people, as Monsieur Coyteuse has told me.

The Loups have returned overland from the mouth of the Belle Riviere, as well as Guillaume Lorimer, Jr.

The 26th. François Sante Marie, a courier, arrived at this post at noon, and delivered the letters which he had for Ste. Genevieve to one Millet whom he met.

March 27. Monsieur Lorimier arrived at this post, and hands me the supplement of the said journal. On the 23d he had the two boats met, one of which was coming from Post Vincenne and the other from the environs of Cainteke, [*i. e.*, Kentucky] and a third from Nouvelle Madrid. He returned to the mouth of the Belle Riviére. On the 24th he went to report on his mission to Monsieur Portell at Nouvelle Madrid. He arrived at that post on the 25th, and set out on the 26th for Cap Girardeau.

---

[61] This family came to New Madrid from Vincennes.

The 28th. The despatches were sent to Monsieur Don François Vallé by a Loup savage. I wrote to Sieur Vallé. Things are on the *qui vive* here as the Osages have stolen two horses. I started immediately with a number of savages in pursuit of them. It has been found that they were friendly hunters.

The 29th. François Sante Marie left for Nouvelle Madrid. I wrote to Monsieur Don Thomas Portell. I gave him a canoe in order to descend, as another daughter of the chief of the Loups is dead — which has greatly saddened that tribe.

March 30. The scouts have arrived from the mouth of the Cumberland River. They announced by cries the news and death, and by a salvo of their arms. That was answered by two salvos fired from this place. They report that they attacked at daybreak two houses, as they had not been able to make a prisoner before, at the entrance of the Cumberland River, and that they killed eleven persons without being able to take a single scalp.

The 31st. The Loup sent to carry the despatches on the 24th of the present month has returned with the despatch of Monsieur Don François Vallé. He tells me that Monsieur Don Zenon Trudeau wrote him that there are 150 Ossages who give out that they are going to strike the Peorias, Chouesnons, Abnakis, and others. He enjoins me to advise Monsieur Don Thomas Portell, and I have done so by an official letter on the present date, which I despatched by a Cherakis. The said Loup has reported that a band of Osages went to La Saline[a] [*i. e.*, the salt works] where they stole a number of horses and killed a man.

April first, 1794; Cap Girardeau. The two boats which I had left at Nouvelle Madrid reached this post with 3 men for the work, and one gunsmith. They brought me a quart of whiskey, which the savages drank immediately that night.

The batteau and the pirogue which brought the artillery to Nouvelle Madrid passed at six o'clock in the evening, and have stopped on the eastern shore.

April 2. The savages drank the rest of the whiskey that Monsieur Don Portell sent them. One Miami was killed by another of his tribe.

The 3d. Received the despatches from Monsieur Don Portell, and gave orders to arrest the persons named Foucher, Montuirel, and Jean Doolin, deserters from Nouvelle Madrid. These men went to the last Chaouesnon village, as I have been told. On receiving the orders, I despatched Monsieur Adrian Langlois[63] to carry despatches to Monsieur François Vallé, and to have the said deserters arrested at La Saline, in case that they tried to cross to Kaskaskia from that place. Those despatches were taken by François Berthiaume.[64]

---

[a] A settlement of salt-boilers on the mouth of Saline Creek in the present Ste. Genevieve county.

The 4th. I appointed Monsieur Louis Coyteaux to distribute the food after having accepted the conditions of the letter of Monsieur Don Thomas Portell. The savages received the corn, bacon, flour, tobacco, etc.

April 5, 1794; Cap Girardeau. Barthelemi Richard, a spy, arrived at this post from Nouvelle Madrid. He announces nothing extraordinary.

The 6th. The said Barthelemi Richard sets out for Kaskaskia. He begs me to write in his favor to Monsieur Le Chevalier de Luziere to interest himself in his regard to Monsieur the Baron de Carondelet, in order that he may be recompensed for the employment which he has had in charge, and which he has executed with honesty.

The 7th. Received the letters from Monsieur Don François Vallé, and the message from Nassa Rosanga, chief of the Peorias, addressed to the Loups and Chaouesnons. The Chaouesnon band of Netompsica arrived at this post.

The 8th. Monsieur Adrien Langlois arrived from Ste. Genevieve with Monsieur Vital Beauvais and 4 others. They brought me some letters.

The 10th. A very highly regarded Loup died of sickness at 12 o'clock this morning. Monsieur Vital Beauvais set out with the despatches for Don François Vallé.

The 12th. Chandillon arrived from Nouvelle Madrid with the despatches of Monsieur Don Thomas Portell for Ste. Genevieve. They announce that Monsieur Marquet[65] saw 18 men in white uniform, *parment* [?], and blue hoods, and armed with fine carabines, disembark. They say that they are going to Yllinois the 7th of the present month. It is thought to be a detachment of Michel Moray.

---

[63] Jean Adrian Langlois was a native of France, and not related to the Langlois of Kaskaskia and Canada.

[64] Afterward gunsmith for the Shawnees on Apple Creek.

[65] Louis Scipion de Marquet was captain of the New Madrid militia company in 1794 and may be the Marquet mentioned.

The Cherakis arrived to the number of 18 men, with their wives and children all aggregating 39.

April 13, 1794; Cap Girardeau. Chandillon set out for Ste. Genevieve in company with an American.

The savages resident in this post have held a great council with the Cherakis. The latter have said that inasmuch as they have heard this winter in their huts that their Spanish Father was assembling all his Children in order to repulse their enemies; and inasmuch as they desired also to join with them: they made an attack on the Cumberland River, where they took some scalps in order to bring them here and show in that way their sincerity and their good will in fighting their enemies. They have sent one of these scalps to Point du Jour. The latter on receiving it, complimented them highly, praising them for their attachment and telling them that he was going to carry it to their Father, and to repeat to him all that had been said. All the savages had a great dance in order to show their satisfaction with the Cherakis their allies for having come to see them, and inform them of their good intentions.

The 14th. There is a great alarm this morning, and it is reported that some Ossages have been seen in the neighborhood. Nothing has been discovered by the scouting of 30 men. We have never seen any traces in the place where they are said to have been seen.

Conversation which the chief of the Cherakis held with me: "I do not know what expressions to use in speaking to thee, and whether I am to treat thee as a father or a brother."

I answered him that I was ready to listen to all the words of the tribes which they addressed to their Spanish Father and to report them to him.

"I am going," he said, "to make thee a detailed account of the proceedings of my Father and of his death.

"I was still a small child, when my father went to the French fort to treat for peace there. The Commandant received him hospitably, but he could only resolve to write to his superior, and that he would act according to the answer that he received. After my father had waited considerable time and saw that no answer was received, he decided to go to Nouvelle Orleans to see the great Chief. The latter received him hospitably and heaped him with presents. He gave my father this bit of silver (he shows his medal which bears the effigy of Louis XV), saying to him, 'Here is the likeness of thy Father, the

Frenchman. Thou shouldst be faithful to him, as thou art to thy Spanish Father, for they are one; always extend to them the hand as well as all thy people; defend them and fight their enemies; unite with all the other tribes, our Children with them; make peace with them; and do everything jointly for their interests.' My father ever maintatined these sentiments. We have made alliance with the other tribes and have kept it until now. My father did not cease until death to recall all these things to me, and gave me his medals explaining those things to me before his death. The Virginians in an attack seized the papers which our Father of Nouvelle Orleans had given him. I have always observed all that my father told me, as have all our people. This is why I have come here today in order to conform to the will of my father. I speak in the presence of three young chiefs who are with me, whom one might imagine, perhaps, to be without experience, but on the contrary, they have good sense, and are steadfast and sincere, and their sentiments are in accord with mine."

I responded to him: that all he had said to me appeared to be very true; that it was necessary for me to reflect; and that I would have them advised, in order that I might give them the most succinct answer possible.

The 15th. The chiefs of the Loups, accompanied by the Chauesnons, Miamis, and Outaouas, set out to renew the alliance with the Chicachias, Cherakis, Chactas, and Maskous and to invite them to put forth all their might in sustaining and defending the domains of their Spanish Father.

April 23, 1794; Cap Girardeau. Two pirogues coming from Post Vincenne reported that war is declared.

Messieurs Menard, Vanden,[66] and d'Erbigny[67] went to the south, and announce that preparations are being made to attack this district. I received from Monsieur Menard 326 minots of corn, and 2 bales of tobacco from Monsieur Don François Vallé, for the savages.

The 25th. . It is reported that the Chaouesnons wish to go to live at St. Louis.

The "Pensee" arrived from Nouvelle Madrid. We learn that three galleys are at Ecors á Margot with the batteau of St. Tropez and De Verdon; that they have two hundred men, ammunition, and artillery; that the English have joined Spain; that the

[66] Louis Vandenbenden.

[67] Pierre Derbigny.

French, enraged, are killing and massacring where they become the masters.

The 26th. Received a letter from Monsieur Thomas Portell who announces that three galleys are about to arrive.

The Cherakis have had an assembly with me, and asked me the reason why the Chaouesnons retired when they came hither to see them and unite with them, and even to fight their battles. I answered them that I knew absolutely nothing of the reasons which engaged them to go to St. Louis, and that I was going to speak to them in their camp, in order to find out all about that.

The 27th. I went to the camp of the Chaouesnons, both in order to inform them of the arrival of the galleys, and to take them the messages of the Cherakis, and find out their sentiments. They answered me that it was their purpose to go to St Louis,[88] and that they were setting out. My efforts to retain them were useless and they persist in their designs.

The 28th. Monsieur Adrien Langlois set out for Ste. Genevieve to carry the despatches.

The Cherakis came to my lodging where I answered them in regard to the speech which they had addressed to me on the 14th.

"It is in the name of thy Spanish Father that I answer the speech that thou hast made me.

"When thou askedst me of what expression thou shouldst make use in order to address me, thou mayest know it thyself, since thy ancient Father, the Frenchman, when he gave that medal to thy father said to him that he was only one with thy Spanish Father. Presently, thy French Father having ceded all these lands which he possessed in this continent to thy Spanish Father, recommended to him those Children who were to be regarded from that time as his own, and charged him to hold them under his wings, and to protect them as he had done himself when he was master of Louisiane.

"It is, then, for thee to show thy zeal, thy attachment, and thy courage, to sustain him in all things against those who come to molest him in his lands. Thou hast no other Father than he alone, who is ready to receive thee when thou comest to him, even to settle thee near him where thou wilt have the advantage of sowing and hunting without being made anxious by the other tribes who are allied to thee and are friends.

"Thou hast also made me recognize that thy sentiments were to conform thyself to thy Brothers, the other tribes who are here; to follow their footsteps; and to maintain thyself with him as a true child to a good father. I am going to inform the Great Chief of it, and I hope that he will favor thee and all thy tribe.

---

[88] The transcript reads "to go from St. Louis," which is evidently an error.

"Thou hast told me what thou hast said in the presence of the three chiefs whom one might think to be without experience. I take thy word for true, when thou hast said to me that they are like to thee in their sincerity.

"Although I have no more merchandise, I make you, however, this little present in the name of thy Spanish Father. It consists of powder and balls in order to hunt, some knives, and something with which to make yourselves shirts [? *mittasses*]; while I repeat to thee always to have the same good sentiments which thou hast shown me today for thy Spanish Father."

Reply of the Chief.

"My Father: We are greatly satisfied by the answer that thou hast made in telling us that when we come to thy lands it is as to our own. Be assured, my Father, of our zeal and courage to maintain the alliance which we have made with thee, and that we shall do all in our power to defend thy lands and ours against enemies. Nothing can make us change our sentiments and our friendship for our Spanish Father. Also be assured that what we have said to thee today is not only true of us alone, but of all the tribe which is joined to us to witness to thee our sincerity.

"We are thinking, my Father, of settling in this place, but our Brothers retire farther. Therefore we take the resolution to go to the chase and come back after a bit, whenever everything in our road is at peace."

A highly regarded war-chief [spoke as follows]:

"I have a few things to say to thee, my Father. My resolution is taken. I have two things to do on my voyage — the chase and war. For I cannot endure the look of an American after the treason which they have practiced, and I shall always make war upon them wherever I meet them. As for the Spaniards, I shall always love them and aid them."

April 29, 1794; Cap Girardeau. The Loup named Thimouse came to tell me that there was a person of Ste. Gennevieve who had sent two Peorias to their people who are at Bois Brulé,[60] to tell them that the Americans would not do them any harm if they were peaceful; that the French had laid down arms at Ste. Genevieve, and that the Americans had nothing to fear from them.

---

[60] Name of Bottom district about ten miles below Ste. Genevieve fronting on the Mississippi.

The 30th. The batteaux of Sieur Chouteau arrived at this post, as did also a barge belonging to Sieur Bryan an American merchant[70] bound for Nouvelle Orleans.

May first. The barge of Monsieur Menard arrived at this post with despatches from Monsieur Don Thomas Portell.

The 2d. Sent despatches to Ste. Genevieve by an Outaoua. Monsieur Langlois arrived from the said Ste. Genevieve. He passed here the men named Dolfe and Owsely who are going to Nouvelle Madrid.

The 3d. Monsieur François Saucier,[71] arrived at this post from Post Vincenne, said that there were some men at the mouth of the Cumberland River.

The 4th. Alexis Bertrand[72] arrived here, together with another man from the Belle River. They also reported that there were people at the mouth of the Cumberland River. I wrote Monsieur Don Thomas Portell.

The 5th. Monsieur Langlois set out for Nouvelle Madrid to carry the despatches to Monsieur Don Thomas Portell.

The 6th. The rest of the Chaouesnons left for St. Louis.

The 7th. Received a letter from Monsieur Don Thomas Portell in reply to what I told him by the same courier.

The 8th. The King's galliot, named "La Fleche" [*i. e.*, the Arrow] commanded by Don François Langlois and the batteau of Sieur Troupez[73] arrived at this post. We learned that the people at the mouth of the Cumberland River have pillaged the punts[74] of their tribe.

The 9th. Two Loups arrived from the Riviere Blanch [*i. e.*, White River] behind Post Vincenne. One of the two had been sent to lead 17 lodges which they said were en route. Messieurs Adrien Langlois, Menard, and d'Erbigni arrived from Nouvelle

---

[70] At Kaskaskia.

[71] François Saucier established the village of Portage des Sioux. See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 89.

[72] A family of lower Louisiana. A Jean Baptiste Bertrand was at one time in St. Louis.

[73] No doubt related to Tropez Recar. See vol. i, p. 105, note 22.

[74] This word in the transcript is "*chalants*" ("punts"). It may possibly be a mistranscription for "chassants" for "*chasseurs*" ("hunters").

Madrid, and brought me some letters from Monsieur Don Thomas Portell.

The 11th. An Outaoua arrived who accompanied the chiefs of the Loups and the Chicachias. He said that the latter have all killed the others, and that he escaped. However, he did not affirm that they are dead, but that they set out to kill them.

The persons named Archambau,[75] l'Avoix,[76] and La Plante[77] arrived at this post. They said that they had seen some Loups at the mouth of the Riviere a la Pomme [*i. e.*, Apple River] with two scalps.

The 12th. Four Miamis arrived here with two scalps which they took from the Ossages, where they killed a man and a woman and stole two horses. They said that the Ossages were five in number, three of whom went to hunt and that the fourth had escaped naked, and that they had not been able to overtake him.

The 13th. Etienne Drouin arrived from Nouvelle Madrid with letters from Monsieur Don Portell. Monsieur Adrien Langlois set out for Nouvelle Madrid to carry the despatches.

May 14, 1794; Cap Girardeau. We have learned that the chief of the Loups and those who accompanied him were returning from the Chicachias.

The 15th. I set out for Nouvelle Madrid, in answer to the orders of Monsieur Don Thomas Portell.

The 16th. Monsieur Adrien Langlois returns from Nouvelle Madrid.

The 17th. I arrived from Nouvelle Madrid at 3 o'clock in the afternoon in order to look for Sieur Largeau.

The 18th. A boat passed from St Louis, which announces nothing particular.

The 21st. I have sent a Loup to Ste. Genevieve to carry the despatches of Monsieur Don Thomas Portell.

I am about to set out the said day in company with Sieur Largeau in a pirogue under the guidance of 5 men in order to obey the orders of Monsieur Don Thomas Portell.

The 22d. Arrived at Nouvelle Madrid and together with Sieur

---

[75] A Joseph Archambeau was a resident of Kaskaskia, and may possibly be the one mentioned.

[76] Perhaps Joseph Lavoie of Kaskaskia.

[77] Joseph la Plante lived at New Madrid, but came from Kaskaskia.

Largeau made the declarations that were demanded against the men Owsely[78] and Dolff.

The 23d. We went for the same purpose to the house of Monsieur Don Thomas Portell.

The 24th. I have had the boldness to ask favor to be shown toward these two men, representing their mothers and their families, as well as their incapacity to harm us — which Monsieur Don Thomas Portell and Don Pierre Rouseau, captain commanding the squadron on the Mississippi River have granted to me.

The 25th. I set out for [from] Nouvelle Madrid on horseback, accompanied by a man. Sieur Largeau left by pirogue with 5 men for Cap Girardeau.

The 26th. Two Loups arrived at Cap Girardeau who came from Belle Riviére, where they had gone to war. They met another band of their own tribe who had killed two men and pillaged their possessions. These men, in accordance with their custom, gave them a scalp, and the latter went to steal 4 horses.

The 27th. The chief of the Loups arrived at this post.

The 29th. The chief of the Loups left for Ste. Genevieve to report to the tribe concerning his mission to the Chicachias, and is to return in 10 days. Sieur Largeau arrived from Nouvelle Madrid with the pirogue.

The 30th. A family of Loups arrived here. They come to await other families of their tribe, who are coming from the Miamis.

The 31st. Five Loups arrived at this post coming from the Miamis to ask me to send a boat opposite the Riviere La Claire[79] in order to bring across several families who are coming from the Miamis.

June first, 1794; Cap Girardeau. Sent a boat with 4 men to cross and bring over the Loup families.

The 2d. The Loup families arrived at 5 o'clock in the evening. 4 men of the same tribe arrived from Nouvelle Madrid.

June 4. Monsieur Don François Langlois, Commander of the galliot "La Fleche" arrived at this post at 9 in the morning.

George Wilson[80] arrived here from Nouvelle Madrid. He presented his passport in the presence of Don François Langlois, who said that he had been sent as a spy to find out whether the detachment of Major Dyal,[81] comprised of 200 men had gone to the Cherakis River, and if not, he was not [*sic: but evidently the contrary is meant*] to go to the mouth of the Cumberland in order to examine in those two places the number of cannons and men that might be there.

---

[78] The Jonathan Owsley who later received a land grant on the St. François, which was claimed after his death by his wife Mary may be identical with this man.

[79] This refers to Clear Creek, a little above Cape Girardeau, in Alexander County, Illinois.

[80] See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 149.

June 5th. Sieur Adrien Langlois and four savages went to accompany the said George Wilson to the mouths of the Cherakis and Cumberland Rivers. I found that it was prudent to join a Frenchman and a savage. Three others have been invited by Le Grand Pous, who had been chosen.

June 9. I set out for Ste. Genevieve to confer with the savages who are at that post.

Chandillon, a courier, passed this post with some despatches for Monsieur Don François Vallé. He said that the punt of Monsieur Tardiveau has arrived at Nouvelle Madrid.

The 11th. Gerome Matine[82] passed here with letters for Monsieur Don Portell, and one for Monsieur Lorimier from Monsieur Don François Vallé, in order to procure passage without interruption on the part of the savages for Monsieur Turner, grand judge of the eastern part of Yllinois.

The 12th. I arrived from Ste. Genevieve, and was met by a boat guided by the person named Furat, who was coming from Cumberland. He said that all those who were at the mouth of that river have retreated, and that a garrison must be coming to reëstablish Fort Mantsank,[83] commonly called Fort Cherakis, in order to have the policing of Belle Riviere.

The 13th. I sent Sieur Largeau to Nouvelle Madrid with my accounts in order that he might present them to Monsieur Don Portell. Adrien Langlois, George Wilson, and the four [savages] arrived from the Cumberland and Cherakis rivers. They have found no one.

The 14th. Monsieur Boligny,[84] an officer, who is going to Nouvelle Madrid to join the squadron of Monsieur Rousseau which is to leave on the 15th or 16th of the present month arrived at this post.

---

[81] Major Doyle, in command of Fort Massac.

[82] Jerome Matis had a grant on Big River.

[83] Fort Massac, near the present Metropolis, in Illinois.

[84] This was probably a relative of the Don Francisco de Bouligny, who was Colonel of the Regiment of Louisiana and a resident of New Orleans, and whose wife was Maria d'Auberville. Col. Bouligny died in 1799 and Don Carlos Howard succeeded him as Colonel of the Regiment.

The 15th. I set out for Nouvelle Madrid to make my accounts.

The 16th. Arrived at Nouvelle Madrid.

The 17th. The squadron of Monsieur Rosseau set out for Nouvelle Orleans. I was unable to present my accounts before his departure because of the occupation of Monsieur Don Portell.

The 18th. The Loups arrived at Cap Girardeau on their way from St. Louis.

The 20th. I presented my accounts to Monsieur Don Thomas Portell who told me that he needed a copy of them in duplicate, which I have had made by the secretary whom he granted me.

The 21st. I returned to Monsieur Portell, who examined my accounts and sent me back to Cap Girardeau to have them signed by witnesses in spite of the fact that I represented to him that there were no persons who could write. It is a return that I believe unjust. Any person could be a witness of the affirmation of my mark and of the signature of the secretary who is under oath.

The 22d. I set out overland to return to Cap Girardeau, and left Sieur Largeau to return by water in a boat.

The 23d. I arrived at Cap Girardeau. The orator of the Loups told me that the reason of their hasty departure from this post was that ten gentlemen of Ste. Genevieve read the American proclamation in the presence of Beaulon, whereupon the latter said to them: "Be quick! Save your wives and your children, my Brothers."

The following day, and until the 29th, I had several conversations with the savages, of which very little merits attention.

The 30th. The Abnakis or Loups left this post for Nouvelle Madrid. Sieur Largeau and the boat arrived.

July first. Several Miami families who came from Nouvelle Madrid arrived at this post. Two of their number are dead.

The 2d. The person named Chandillon passed this post with despatches for Ste. Genevieve. He announced the arrival of the courier from Nouvelle Orleans. I received a letter from Monsieur Don Portell, who ordered me to come to Nouvelle Madrid.

The 3d. I left for Nouvelle Madrid in response to the said orders of yesterday.

A family of Loups composed of 5 persons arrived in this post.

The 5th. A family of Loups, composed of six persons, arrived at this post. I sent a canoe to Monsieur Portell by St. Bertian.[85]

---

[85] No such name is found among the early habitants. It stands probably for Berthiaume.

The 7th. I arrived at this post from Nouvelle Madrid, and announced the verbal orders of Monsieur Don Thomas Portell to the savages present at this said post.

The 8th. A Loup family arrived, and some Miamis coming from Ste. Gennevieve.

The 13th. The Chaouesnons from Nouvelle Madrid arrived at this post.

The 14th and 15th. Delivered some corn to the Chaouesnons and other tribes present at this post.

The 16th. Barthelemy Richard arrived this morning at this post. He tells me that the pretended French army is broken up [*transcript confused,*] and that it has no existence; and that all thecommissions that have been delivered for this expedition have been withdrawn.

The lesser half of the people of Caintuki [*i. e.*, Kentucky] have presented a petition to Congress asking for the free navigation of the Missisipi, and without any hindrance, saying that they would take it themselves, if it were not granted to them. It is to be observed that half of the people are not of this sentiment, and disapprove this conduct, and have refused to sign.

The militia of Caintuke demanded for the army of General Wine [*i. e.*, Wayne] to the number of 4,000 men are to assemble on the 16th of the present month at George Stone [*sic*, Georgetown] and are to set out on the 16th for the said army. It is believed however, that there will not be more than 2,000 men at most. Their destination is not known, and whether it is for Detroit or elsewhere. War is not yet declared between the United States and England. This is the first of the levies of troops in this province.

The 18th. A canoe sent by François Berthiaume to Monsieur Portell. Eight Chicachias arrived here, who say that they intend to go to war against the Osages.

The 19th. Sieur La Fourcand arrived at this post, and is going to Cumberland. He reports nothing extraordinary.

The 22d. I have learned from a Chaouesnon who was the cause of them abandoning this place to go to St. Louis. He is one Louis Coyteux. He told them that he had received a letter from Americans telling him that they were going to destroy Cap Girardeau, and take the heads of myself and the two Berthiaume brothers, as the instigators of the evil that the savages did them; and he advised them to get out of here quickly, and that he would follow them in a little while. I wrote to Monsieur Don Portell for more detailed information.

The 23d. A band of Chicachias set out today to go to war against the Ossages.

The 25th. I sent Monsieur Largeau with an interesting letter regarding the discovery of the 22d of the present month, and to ask Monsieur Don Portell to sign and send my accounts to Nouvelle Orleans, as well as the employees for whom I have made advances. I have reminded him of the certificate of my services, which he offered to give me of his own free will.

The 29th. In spite of a very great indisposition, I went to Ste. Genevieve on horseback to confer with the savages who were returning from their St. Louis delusion.

August 4. Sieur Largeau arrived from Nouvelle Madrid and brought me some letters from Monsieur Don Thomas Portell. The latter announced that he had sent my accounts to Monsieur the Governor-General, as well as the certificate of service. Monsieur Auguste Chouteau arrived at this post. He informed me that the Chicachias had killed three Osages and that the intentions of Monsieur the governor were to have peace made among all the friendly tribes of this continent with the Osages, and that I was to work among the said tribes for this purpose, in accordance with the desires of Monsieur the Governor-General.

August 9. Eight Chicachias arrived at this post, who had left on the 23d of the last month in order to go to the Osages. They rested at Ste. Genevieve, where they contracted peace in the name of their tribe with that there.

The 10th. The eight Chicachias set out for Nouvelle Madrid. I entrusted them with a letter relative to the discovery of the 22d of last month.

A Loup on his way from Ste. Genevieve arrived. He said that the rest of his tribe are coming overland and by water from St. Louis, in order to go to rejoin their people below Nouvelle Madrid.

The 12th. Monsieur Don François Langlois, Commander of the galliot "La Fleche" arrived at this post acting as escort for a batteau and a barge in which came Madame Zenon Trudeau.

The 13th. Monsieur Don François Langlois left at noon.

The 14th. Three canoes of Loups passed here on their way to rejoin their people.

The 15th. A number of Loups afoot and on horse reached this post on their way back from St. Louis. Eight of their number have died from disease.

The one named La Pemie [Penseé?] arrived from Ste. Gennevieve. He tells us that Sieur Coyteux asked him to advise us here that a band of Poutouatamie was about to come here under the leadership of La Pate d'Inde[86] [*i. e.*, Turkey Foot].

August 16. Two boats from Caintuky passed here. They report that on the 2d of last July, the savages and the Americans had an engagement with a detachment of the army of General Wine [*i. e.*, Wayne] in which they lost 200 men; and on the part of the Americans 5 officers. The savages captured many beasts of burden Nothing is said at present of any movements by this band.

I believe that the truth has been departed from by the savages.

The 18th. Monsieur Adrien Langlois left for Nouvelle Madrid to carry the despatches to Monsieur Thomas Portell.

The 19th. Netompsica, a highly regarded member of the Chaouesnon tribe, one of the most influential men of the tribe, by means of his speeches, by which he has been able to insinuate himself [*transcript confused*], has arrived here. I have not cared to question him in regard to their departure for St. Louis, and have not answered any of their questions which I deemed to be all affected.

The 20th. Aukake, chief of the Outaouas left with his band for St. Louis.

The 21st. The said Netompsica told me that Monsieur Trudeau had given them an excellent reception, and that he had shown them that he was pleased to see them, and had told them that he would like to learn from them who was the merchant who deceived them; for Lorimier wrote him to try to discover such a one and send him with irons on his feet.

August 22. Pacane, a Miami, held the following conversation with me: "How," said he, "is it possible for the savage tribes to be steadfast and tranquil? The interest of the whites is the sole cause of it. From the first to the last, the Commandants love money so much that they drag us to the places which they see to be favorable to their interests ([he said this] in reproach because Monsieur Foucher[87] made them abandon the village of La Riviére a la Pomme which was becoming a very considerable place and which he regrets exceedingly). The merchants do the same. Other small *coureur* of the village also levy a band. All are scattered in one direction or the other in the woods and we are becoming nomads, through the speech of all these people. Some say to us 'Do that.' They speak to us with paper or with porcelain. Coming from chiefs we must listen to them, believe them, and not even think that they are lying. But these other petty merchants, these gadders of the village come to turn us off. One says quite softly 'Do not believe him. He is a liar. He wishes to make you do that. Do not do it! You would do better to follow what I tell you, but do not speak of it. I shall be hanged by the neck with a rope.' And all this because of their self-interest, and we become the dupe of the same. When I myself arrived from the Arkansas at Nouvelle Madrid, several came to say to me: 'Do not meddle in this war. Our Father the Frenchman is coming. As soon as we shall see him, we shall escape to him.' That is always said in secret, which shows that they are in no wise true men who told me that. They are the ones whom the Commandant resembles. All of us have not the same sentiments. Some listen to the good, and truth reigns. They do well. Others listen to the bad, and falsehood reigns. That differentiates us and makes us follow the larger torrent.

---

[86] Reynolds says that he was "an evil-disposed and cruel chief."— Reynolds, Pioneers of Illinois, p. 233.

[87] Don Pedro Foucher, commandant of New Madrid. See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 125.

"If the Commandants said, 'You savages shall absolutely make a village altogether, where, within reach of one another, we could call out to you and advise you [*transcript confused*],' would it not be better? And if there were none of these merchants, who are all babblers like ill birds, we would go to carry our furs and our other things to the villages of the whites where it pleases us to go. They are not indeed, so distant from one another, and then tranquillity will reign among our persons. Do not excite us to go hither and thither; we believe that we shall obtain happiness and that we shall be happy.

"At present, we are on one side or the other. Some say that is the fault of such and such a tribe, which never says anything in the councils, and evil in private. Others attribute it to the speeches which are made to them by the whites. And here we are without fields or refuge. We shall see immediately how this will end."

August 26. Another speech by the same chief Pacanne, a Miami, was made with fire and energy, as he had learned that artillery was being mounted to send to the chief of the Osages.

"Here is proof of what I said to thee the other day. Chouteau is a trader, let us suppose by his talent. He has the sole right of going to the Osages to carry them their needs, and without doubt to sustain them in their rogueries. We, if one of us steals a horse, or any other thing, are treated as thieves and as bad savages. In the same manner if anyone of us becomes intoxicated, and tries to commit any extravagance, one hears immediately: 'They are dogs; they must be killed. Results have proved it.' They spare us in nothing, and treat us with harshness. It is quite the contrary for the Osages when they steal, pillage, and kill. They get nothing but caresses, and are supplied with everything. This is the way you whites are regarded by us."

I replied to him: "Why dost thou not say the same in the councils?"

His answer: "I shall indeed speak when an occasion presents itself."

August 27. The band of Pacanne, the Miami, left this post to go to Ste. Genevieve. Delivered 4 minots of corn [to him?] and 1 minot to Metompsica, the Chaouesnon.

September 6. Wrote to Baron de Carondelet, Governor-General, as well as to Monsieur Pierre Rousseau, Commander of the squadron on the river.

The 11th of the said month. Wrote to Monsieur Don Thomas Portell, and sent the duplicates of the lists of the workmen.

The 12th. I left for Ste. Genevieve to attend to some affairs there as I verbally informed Monsieur Portell.

The 20th. Wrote from Ste. Genevieve to Monsieur Don Thomas Portell.

October first. I left Ste. Genevieve after being kept one week by Monsieur Don François Vallé to harangue the Loups and Chaouesnons who were coming back from St. Luis to the Post of Ste. Genevieve.

The 2d of the said month. At my arrival at Cap Girardeau, I found Aukaske, chief of the Outaouas and his band, and Captain Rakoone, a Loup Chief, to whom I delivered eight minots of corn, as they were in great need for lack of ammunition.

The 4th. Monsieur Don François Vallé, having charged me to conduct one Connor, an American, and one d'Etailly,[88] who had abandoned their boat at the mouth of the Belle Riviére because of a false alarm of some savages who were at that place, and who had stolen about 600 piastres of which they gave me 536. That sum as well as those named above, I have sent to Monsieur Don François Langlois, Commander of His Majesty's galliot, "La Fleche," which was anchored at the said mouth of the Belle Riviere, to take them and deliver them to Monsieur the Commandant of Nouvelle Madrid.

---

[88] A family of Indian interpreters was named Detaillie; members of this family lived at St. Louis and New Madrid. There was a Denau Detailly in St. Louis. See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 270.

October 7. I returned from the mouth of the Belle Riviére, where I was enjoined by Monsieur Langlois to maintain the savages near the fort.

The 10th of the said month. Aukakes, chief of the Outaouas, on his way from Nouvelle Madrid, tells us of the unfortunate accident that happened to the galleys and to several vessels at Nouvelle Orleans by two storms — one on the 10th of August, and the other on the 31st. That occasions great grief to our poor country, which was awaiting those galleys in order to aid in defending them against the oppression of our enemy.

The 12th. Two Peorias passed, on their way from the Arkansas. They report that the Chicachias say that they are friends with the Americans, and that they will give no quarter to any whites or redskins who are in this district. That intimidates our savages at this time when they are about to go on their winter hunts.

October 13, 1794. Le Corbeau [*i. e.*, the Crow], chief of the Loups, arrives at this post with his band composed of fifty-two persons who have requested me to give them some corn and tobacco, which I gave to them.

In a conversation which I had with the said Corbeau, he told me naïvely, "It is impossible for us to be able to combat the French through the Americans. We are always beaten together. It is no use."

The 14th. Le Corbeau and his band left for the hunt in the neighborhood of this post.

The 15th. The person named Genont, coming from Nouvelle Orleans has confirmed the loss of two galleys and several ships, and said that he had met Monsieur Rousseau near La Pointe Coupé. He adds that a pestilent disease is ravaging Havana in the Island of Cuba.

A Loup family arrived at this post, the children of the late Captain Boule, to the number of 5 persons.

The 16th. Wrote to Monsieur Don Thomas Portell of the said loss. Received an official letter from Monsieur Don François Vallé, ordering me to facilitate the passage into the Misisipi of Monsieur

Turner,[89] Judge of the eastern part of Ste. Claire County, so that neither he nor his men may be molested by any savages.

October 24. Judge Thumer [*sic*] of St. Clair County passed at 9 o'clock in the morning in a barge manned with 14 soldiers, a master, and mate, altogether 18 persons, with a flag of the United States. He reports to us that two Cherakis villages have been destroyed by the Americans.

The 29th. By a letter of Monsieur Don François Langlois, of the date of the 26th of the present month at the mouth of the Belle Riviére, I was enjoined to go to receive the orders of Monsieur Don Portell at Nouvelle Madrid, with Sieur Largeau, in order to communicate to me the orders of the service.

November first. Left in answer to the orders of Monsieur Don Thomas Portell, on horseback.

The 5th. I arrived at the post of Nouvelle Madrid. I made a declaration before Monsieur Don Thomas Portell of the manner in which the 536 piastres was sent me, which the ones named Ephraim Connor[90] and Joseph d'Etailly[91] had stolen from the bourgeois.[92]

November 6. Received a letter from Don François Langlois, ordering me to procure him some twenty trustworthy savages. It is impossible for me to be able to execute that order punctually, since the savages are scattered in the woods on their autumn hunting. That gives rise to the difficulty, as I do not know where to find them.

On the said day, I wrote to Monsieur Don Thomas Portell.

The 16th. Two savages arrived from the interior, two days' distance away. They told me that all the men had gone hunting far from their camps, and have asked me to give them some corn from their Fathers for their families who were in straits in the absence of their husbands who could not return to their camp until the end of the moon of December. I delivered them six minots of corn.

The 24th of the said month. A Loup family arrived at this post who asked for a little corn. As the hunt has not succeeded very well at Coté d'Ore,[93] they come in order that they might live. I delivered them three minots of corn.

---

[89] Probably Jesse B. Thomas and not "Turner."

[90] This Ephraim Connor made a settlement in 1800, 5 miles southwest of the present Edwardsville in Illinois, then about 20 miles in advance of the other settlements.

[91] See note 88, *ante*.

[92] Presumably means "from the people."

November 25. Two or three other Loups came to ask for corn for their people. I gave them six minots.

December 8. Delivered to three Loup families three minots of corn and a roll of tobacco. They come from the side of the Riviére Blanche[94] [*i. e.*, White River].

The 13th of the same month. Delivered to two Loups and one woman, one minots of corn and one roll of tobacco; and to a Chaouesnon and his wife and two children one minot of corn.

The 22d. Le Corbeau and his band arrived at this post; as well as Captain Rakoone, also a Loup, and his band.

The 23d. Delivered to the Loups in the name of thirty-eight persons, twenty-two minots of corn.

The 24th. The band of Le Corbeau left with that of Rakoone, to whom I gave 10 rolls of tobacco.

January 4, 1795. The band of Paispetetmeta, Loups, arrived at this post. They asked me for food, telling me that they had not sown any last year, when their Father had kept them from it. I gave nine persons 6 minots of corn and one roll of tobacco.

January 5, 1795. Delivered to two Chaouesnons who came from their people, ½ minot of corn, and one roll of tobacco.

The 16th. A boat from Cumberland arrived at this post, which apprises us of the death of Colonel Montgomery, who was killed by the Cherakis, who, together with the Maskous, are waging continual war upon the Americans and have devastated their fields.[95] That colonel was the most turbulent fellow, and was always ready to incite his countrymen to make raids on this district.

Cap Girardeau, January 17, 1795.

Pierre L. Lorimier [Louis Lorimier].
L. Largeau (rubric).

---

[93] I am unable to identify this place.

[94] Probably White River in Indiana.

[95] Col. John Montgomery, who for several years did effective service in protecting the Cumberland settlement against Indian attacks.

LXXXII

A FORT AMONG THE TROUBLESOME OSAGES — 1795.

General Archives of the Indies — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

Carondelet to Las Casas:

Most Excellent Sir: The settlements in upper Luisiana, and even the interior provinces, have been disquieted by the frequent assassinations and robberies which have been committed by the nation of the Great and the Little Osages, who are located on the river of the same name toward the west, and at some forty leagues from the Misisipi and Misuri rivers; and this nation were extending their incursions, at my entrance upon this government, as far as Nuevo Madrid, Akansas, Natchitoches, and even the interior provinces, and kept their inhabitants in such a state of terror that they hardly ventured to leave the villages and estates in order to cultivate the fields or to hunt. I endeavored by all possible means, following the example of my predecessors, to reduce those savages by mildness to a permanent peace with our people; but, having experienced from them the same continual perfidy that the other Governors have encountered, I resolved to employ force in order to compel them to respect the dominions of the King and to leave the inhabitants of these in peace. In consequence, I prohibited every kind of trade and commerce with both nations of the Osages, with the object of depriving them of the means of acquiring firearms and ammunition; and meanwhile I incited the other savages, their neighbors, to make raids against them — engaging the latter, by presents and the distribution of arms, to wage war more actively against both, which has actually been done by the nations of the Akansas, Cados, Chicachas, and others in that region.

While I was awaiting the effect which these measures would produce, the minister of the French Convention, Monsieur Genet, began to assemble upon the Ohio the expedition which was to invade Luisiana by way of the Upper Misisipi; and, not doubting that our enemies would avail themselves of this opportunity to receive the support of the Osage nations — who number not less than one thousand two hundred warriors — and with this to ruin all those flourishing establishments of Ilinoas and Nuevo Madrid, while their inhabitants were occupied in driving back or in receiving [attacks from] the expedition of Genet, I saw myself compelled to listen to the propositions for peace which were made by their chiefs to my Lieutenant-Governor of Ilinoa — they offering to send, as deputies to the capital, six leading chiefs of their nations, in order to comply with the conditions which I might see fit to impose on them.

I was previously informed by the said Lieutenant-Governor of Ilinoa, Don Zenon Trudeau, that a habitant of San Luis named Don Renato Augusto Chouteau — a rich man, very friendly to the name of Spaniard, and held in the highest esteem by those savages, among whom he and his brother had lived in the early part of their career — had offered to erect a fort upon a hill which dominates all the vast plain in which the Osages dwell, on condition that the exclusive trade with those savages be granted to him during six years; and he bound himself to deliver up to the King the aforesaid fort, with its buildings, at the expiration of his contract. Considering that the profit in the aforesaid trade is by custom a perquisite of the lieutenant-governors, and it could not be put to better use than that of the public benefit and the preservation of those settlements of ours in Ilinoa — and, besides, of Luisiana and the interior provinces — after satisfying myself of the good intentions of the six Osage deputies, and of their consent to the erection of the aforesaid fort, I concluded the contract with Don Renato Augusto Chouteau, a copy of which accompanies this letter. Considering that I had no veteran troops to allow to him for the garrison of the said fort, as also that I found myself obliged to withdraw, from the fifty men who composed the garrison of San Luis of Ilinoa, twenty men to reënforce the fort at Nuevo Madrid — the post that was nearest and most exposed to the attacks of the French expedition — and that neither would the soldiers be at first on very friendly terms with those savages, who, seeing how few they were, could very easily surprise the soldiers and cut off their heads, I agreed with Chouteau as follows: The sum of a hundred pesos a year should be paid to him for each soldier, and the men were to be selected among the militiamen of Ilinoa; he must give evidence each month to his Lieutenant-Governor of the continuous presence [there] of twenty men for the garrison of the said fort, who should remain at the orders of his brother Don Pedro Chouteau, Lieutenant of militia, whom I appointed Commandant of the fort but without pay. In consequence, the royal exchequer now has a surplus from the twenty places in the garrison, of one hundred and sixty pesos a year, on account of the nine pesos which each soldier costs, and besides, the pay of the officer and the additional pay of the sergeants and corporals.

I have the satisfaction of seeing these measures rewarded by the most complete success. The fort and the buildings dependent on it have been finished; the savages have let our settlements alone during this year — so much so that they have not committed one murder, and on the other hand have restored various arms and horses which their war-parties had stolen, although the full number of these was not returned — the chiefs [promising] to punish [the guilty ones] on their return to their nation. The habitants have succeeded in cultivating their fields, and in working some lead mines that are very rich, but which their fear of the Osages had compelled them to abandon; and Don Renato Chouteau has begun a little colony in the neighborhood of the fort, which is devoted to agriculture. Intercourse with these colonists will end in rendering the habits of those savages more gentle, so that within a few years they will be as useful as they have been [hitherto] a cause of injury and fear to all their neighbors.

Now that peace is concluded with France, the reason no longer exists which induced me to make the agreement with Chouteau concerning the garrison of the new fort; and, as I reserved to myself the right to replace the militiamen with veteran soldiers whenever that should be found expedient, will your Excellency deign to notify me whether the militamen ought to remain in the fort — bearing in mind that their total cost does not exceed two thousand pesos, and that each one of them, being a hunter and accustomed to dealing with the Indians and to their mode of warfare, is more useful than two veteran soldiers — or whether they shall be relieved by a detachment from the regiment stationed here, as soon as its numbers can be filled up and the fifty men who are lacking this year can be replaced.

May God our Lord preserve your Excellency for many years. Nueva Orleans, December 2, 1795. Excellent Sir,

THE BARON DE CARONDELET (with a rubric).

Addressed: "To his Excellency Don Luis de las Casas."

MnoU

Carondelet to Casas:]

Most Excellent Sir: I enclose, for your Excellency's information and guidance, a copy of the letter which I am sending by this mail to his Excellency the Duke of Alcudia, informing him of the manner in which I have reduced to peace the powerful nation of the Osages, who were making innumerable raids on Ilinoa, Nuevo Madrid, Akanzas, Natchitoches, and the fortified posts of the interior provinces of Nueva España; and asking for the decision of His Majesty, in order that the measures that I have taken for this purpose may be approved.

May God our Lord preserve Your Excellency for many years. Nueva Orleans, May 31, 1794. Most Excellent Sir,

The Baron de Carondelet (with a rubric).

Addressed: "To His Excellency Don Luis de las Casas."

Copy of letter to Duke of Alcudia:]

Most Excellent Sir: The settlements in Upper Luisiana have been disquieted by the frequent assassinations and robberies committed by the nation of the Great and the Little Osages, situated on the river of the same name to the west of the Misisipi, and at some forty leagues from the town of San Luis in Ilinoa; and, extending their raids in these recent years as far as Natchitoches, Arcanzas, Nuevo Madrid, and the interior provinces, they have kept the inhabitants of these in a state of terror, so that now they hardly dare to leave the villages to cultivate their fields or to hunt. I endeavored by all possible means, following the example of my predecessors, to reduce them to a permanent peace with our people; but, having experienced on their part the same perfidy as have the others, I strove to incite the other savages against that nation, depriving them at the same time of all trade and commerce, to the end that, being ill supplied with weapons, they might be easily defeated in their encounters with the other Indians — to whom I caused bullets and ammunition to be distributed, in order that they might go to attack them; this has been done by the Chactas, Chicachas, Arcanzas, and other tribes allied with España.

While I was awaiting the effect that this measure would produce, the minister of the French Convention began to assemble an expedition upon the Ohio [River], with the purpose of invading Luisiana. Not doubting that our enemies would avail themselves of this opportunity for getting a foothold among the nation of the Osages, and employing the great number of the latter for attacking our settlements of Ilinoa, Nuevo Madrid, and Arcanzas, I found myself obliged to accept the propositions of peace which were made by their chiefs to the Lieutenant-Governor of Ilinoa, who was able to induce them to send me six of their great chiefs as deputies; and these envoys, humbling themselves in my presence, told me at the first audience that I gave them that they had come to surrender at my discretion.

After having reminded them of their continual perfidy toward the Spaniards for the last twenty years, I assured them that they would not obtain peace unless they would pledge themselves to allow the erection of a fort upon a height which dominates their principal village; and that the garrison of this fort, maintained by the Spaniards, would keep their young warriors in subjection, and would obtain from them adequate satisfaction whenever they should commit any murder or theft upon our territories.

I was already informed beforehand by the Lieutenant-Governor of Ilinoa that a habitant of San Luis named Don Renato Augusto Chouteau had been able to win the greatest esteem among those Indians; and, having availed myself of that opportunity, I had disposed him to help my own purpose, which was to form that settlement without money and without soldiers, since we were deficient in both.

When, finally, those [Osage] chiefs had decided to accept this condition, I sent them back to their nation entirely satisfied with the presents and kind treatment that they had received, and marveling at the power of the Spanish nation; for I had arranged that various exercises by the artillery and troops should be performed before them, in order to give them a great idea of our strength.

I hope that the plan will be carried out without any mishap, and before our enemies can contaminate those Indians; for the work will be undertaken immediately, and with the object of guarding against the fickleness of the savages.

The contract (of which the original accompanies this) will make known to your Excellency its advantages, and the objects to which it is directed. All the risk falls on Don Renato Augusto Chouteau, a man of incorruptible integrity and friendliness to the government; his abilities and wide knowledge, and, above all, the great authority that he possesses over those savages, furnish him with facilities for succeeding in an enterprise so arduous that no other man could attain it. The exclusive privilege of the trade among them during six years which was granted to him was, so to speak, decided by the [prevalent] custom, interested [obtaining] in favor of the lieutenant-governors of Ilinoa, and consequently it had existed for many years, without any advantage to the public or to the royal treasury.

As for the two thousand pesos which I granted to him for the permanency and maintenance of the twenty men who must garrison that fort, at the rate of a hundred pesos a year for each man, it is certain that this sum, besides not being equivalent to what twenty men of the veteran troops would cost, would not be sufficient for [maintaining] a post so exposed to danger. Moreover, those men, not having the least knowledge of the usages, customs, and language of those natives, would by their vices inspire among them a very unfavorable idea of the Spanish nation. Nevertheless, I have placed in the contract the necessary restrictions that whenever His Majesty shall find it expedient to have that post occupied by his own troops the aforesaid allowance of two thousand pesos yearly should cease, to the end that this arrangement may be changed if the King shall not consider it desirable.

It is likewise to be noted that the commandant of the said fort does not enjoy any pay, and that His Majesty can replace him by an officer of his own troops whenever he shall see fit to do so; but I consider that until those Indians can be made familiar with the trade and customs of our nation it will not be expedient to change the [present] plan. As the six years of the present contract seem to me sufficient for that purpose, His Majesty will find himself, by that time, without the least expense, the master of a fort with all the necessary buildings, and built of stone, for a garrison of forty men; and under his dominion a powerful nation who have been, until now, a hindrance to the growth and prosperity of the settlements of Upper Luisiana — since in the only new village, that of Nuevo Madrid, in the year before [this contract] the Osages stole from its inhabitants, in one night, more than sixty horses. Finally, the enemies of this province — whether they be French, American, or English — will be deprived of the recourse, always ready, which they had close at hand, for pushing their raids into the interior possessions [of España] some three or four hundred leagues.

I hope that this decision will meet the approval of your Excellency, and that, by deigning to bring it before His Majesty, you will please secure his royal confirmation for the said contract, which accompanies [this letter]. May God preserve your Excellency for many years. Nueva Orleans, May 31, 1794. Most Excellent Sir,

THE BARON DE CARONDELET.

Addressed: "To his Excellency the Duke of Alcudia."

Contract:]

TO THE GOVERNOR AND INTENDANT-GENERAL: Don Renato Augusto Chouteau, a trader of San Luis of Ilinoa, sets forth to your Excellency that it has been made plain that the nation of the Great and the Little Osages — who count some two thousand and two hundred fighting men — could not be subjected and reduced to reason by all the means that have been employed up to the present time; and, on the other hand, their raids and rapines are increasing from day to day, so that [even] the interior provinces are greatly disturbed, as well as the settlements of Ilinoa, Nuevo Madrid, Acanzas, and even Natchitochez, although it is separated [from the others] by a distance of some three [hundred] leagues. In view of the knowledge which the relator has acquired of this nation, their customs, and their location (which contributes infinitely to their security) during the thirty years while he has been trading among them, it seems to him plain that the only means of subjecting these Indians, and preventing them from destroying and plundering our settlements, is to construct in their village itself a fort, maintaining in it a garrison, which can strengthen the authority of the chiefs for restraining the young warriors, preventing them from making raids, and punishing with death those who commit murders in our districts, at the same time endeavoring to secure restitution for the robberies which they will commit. In consequence of this, he proposes to obtain the approval of the nation to construct therein the fort, running the risks with his brother Don Pedro Chouteau, at their own expense and under the following conditions:

1st. He will construct a fortified building (which will serve as barracks for the garrison) of the dimensions which appear on the annexed plan, and covered with tiles of brick or slate, and defended by four cannon and four swivel-guns. The buildings will be: a large warehouse, a lodging for the commandant, a powder-magazine built of brick or stone, a bakery, a kitchen, and privies — the whole surrounded with a strong stockade of six inches in thickness and sixteen feet in height (of which four feet shall be left in the ground) forming a square. It shall have four bastions, with the corresponding footbank, like the fort recently built at San Luis of Ilinoa; and shall be placed on the height or hill which commands the village of the Osages. The [guns on the] stronghold must [be able to] play on everything around them, without the houses or cabins being able to offer the slightest obstacle.

2d. The artillery, gun-carriages, arms, gunpowder, bullets, etc., shall be delivered to him in Ilinoa, he being responsible for the transportation of the said articles to the aforesaid fort — which he binds himself to build within the space of eighteen months, counting from the day when he shall be able to arrive [there]; and he will immediately procure the plans for it, and the full consent of the Indians.

3d. He shall be authorized to select, at his own pleasure, twenty militiamen, which number he believes to be sufficient for the defense of the said stronghold; and he shall be paid, for the wages and maintenance of each one of them, one hundred pesos duros on account of the royal treasury, the payment of which shall be due to him from the Lieutenant-Governor of the settlements in Ilinoa. The petitioner shall not be authorized to claim anything more than this; and, as he is under obligation to present every month to the said Lieutenant-Governor the muster-roll of his soldiers, he will meanwhile, on his part, take all means and secure all information practicable for assuring himself of the actual presence of each man [in the fort].

As commandant of the said stronghold, his brother Don Pedro Chouteau shall be appointed by the Government, with the number of militia whom he shall judge expedient; but it is fully understood that from the instant when His Majesty shall deem best to have the fort occupied by a detachment of veteran troops, the Commandant of them shall be also that of the fort.

The petitioner proposes his brother, as also the militiamen of his choice, in view of the practical knowledge which he possesses of that nation, which must be managed with great mildness; and the petitioner flatters himself that in no way could he better second the prudent cares of the Government for securing the tranquillity of the said nation and of the province than by the terms which he proposes.

4th. In order to indemnify himself for the considerable costs and disbursements which he will find himself compelled to make in a place apart from all European settlement, expenses which he must incur in order to transport [goods by means of] cattle and carts from the settlements of Ilinoa, there shall be granted to him for the space of six years, counting from this date until the year 1800 inclusive, the exclusive trade with the nation and river of the Osages — on the shore of which river is situated their village — without any other trader or hunter besides those whom he shall send there being allowed, on any pretext, to go there to carry on commerce and trade with that nation. This will not seem incompatible, if the fact be considered that there is no other Indian people on the river of the Osages, nor is that stream a passage-way for any tribe. At the expiration of the six years, the fort and all its dependencies will remain at the disposal of His Majesty, to whom will belong the site and full possession of it.

5th. If before the expiration of the said six years of this exclusive privilege His Majesty shall think proper to appropriate the fort and its dependencies, the proper valuation of the whole shall be made by experts, appointed by both parties, and the amount of this valuation shall be repaid to the petitioner by the royal treasury. Finally, if His Majesty shall think proper to annul the concession of the above-mentioned exclusive trade before the term of the said six years shall be completed, a recompense or indemnification shall be allowed to him, equivalent to the value of the storehouses and the merchandise for the trade that he shall have on hand therein, which shall be at the disposal of His Majesty; but the petitioner shall be given the space of six months for taking away his peltries, furniture, and other articles which may be the produce of his trade in the interior [districts].

Your Lordship will determine, in view of all these things, what shall seem best, since you desire nothing more than the welfare and tranquillity of these provinces. Nueva Orleans, May 18, 1794.

AUGUSTO CHOUTEAU (rubric).

I accept in the name of His Majesty the proposition which Don Augusto Chouteau makes in the foregoing memorial, for the construction of a fort among the nation of the Great Osages; and in view of the difficulty which has been laid before me, which may arise in procuring brick or slate for the roof, I consent to the buildings being covered with turf, according to the method that is practiced in Ilinoa, whenever the roof cannot be made otherwise.

THE BARON DE CARONDELET (no rubric).

Plan of the stronghold which is to be constructed upon the little eminence which commands the village of the Osages, at the expense of Don Augusto Chouteau, according to the contract which he has made with the Government in the name of His Majesty.

The said stronghold shall be composed of two stories; the first shall be built of brick or stone, and the second story of pieces of timber two inches square, placed horizontally one above another, in the mode in which the Americans build. This stronghold shall form an exact square, of thirty-two feet on each side. The second story shall be placed diagonally, that is, in such manner that each face of it shall cut across and correspond to the angle of the first story, and each angle shall be in the middle of the face of the said second story. By this means those who are defending the upper part of the building can destroy, by hand-grenades or by gunshots through the loopholes pierced in the woodwork, all [the enemy] who attempt to break down the door or come close to the foot of the walls.

The floor under the first story shall be at least three inches thick, unless the contractor shall prefer to make it of brick closely joined, or of stone laid in the same way; the floor of the second story shall be at least two inches thick; and that of the garret shall be of common planks.

The height of the first story shall be ten feet clear between the floors; and that of the second, nine feet, [understood] in the same terms; the roof shall have a pitch of six to eight feet, and be covered with tiles of brick, slate, or stone, or with turf.

The entire framework of the building shall be supported by four posts, raised at equal distances in the interior of the building; and on these, for its greater solidity, the cross-beams shall rest.

Two embrasures, eighteen inches square, shall be cut in each face of the first story, in which shall be placed artillery on naval gun-carriages; and each embrasure shall be closed on the inside with a door, very thick, in the same manner as is the porthole on a ship.

The door of the building, which shall be of the most solid [planks], with its hinges, bolts, and locks of iron, shall be six feet six inches high and five feet wide. The stairway to the second floor shall be substantial and well built. Finally, in each face of this second story shall be cut ten loopholes for the musketry, at four and one-half feet from the floor; and two at the ends of the faces of the lower story, at a height of six feet, through which a gun can be fired by a man mounted on a chair, without the danger that the enemy can push his gun through to fire into the lower story of the stronghold. Nueva Orleans, May 18, 1794.

AUGUSTO CHOUTEAU (rubric).

Confidential.

Synopsis:]

Nueva Orleans, December 3, 1795.

Baron de Carondelet, political and military Governor of the provinces of Luisiana and Western Florida renews the representation that he made under number 35, on May 31, of the past year, of the measures that he took to subdue the Osage Indians, and petitions deliberation and approval.

YOUR EXCELLENCY:

By the confidential report, number 35, of May 31, 1794, I informed Your Excellency of the measures which I took to subdue the tribe of the Little and Big Osages who were hostile for years back to our settlements of the upper Misisipi, as well as to the interior provinces.[1] And although it was necessary to come to that determination for fear lest those savages, who number more than one thousand two hundred warriors should unite for the expedition which the envoy of the national convention, Genet, was instigating upon the Ohio, against Luisiana, being distrustful because of the private and personal motives that I explained previously to Your Excellency, I determined to petition His Majesty's approval through the Ministry of State, in charge of Your Excellency, who alone has a full knowledge of the political situation and relations of this vast province which is so different from all the other possessions in the Americas. Not having received any reply as yet to the above-mentioned report, I take the liberty to remind you of it, and to renew my petition, so that Your Excellency may deign to obtain from His Majesty the approval of this measure.

May God preserve Your Excellency for many years.
Nueva Orleans, December 3, 1795.

Your Excellency,

BARON DE CARONDELET (rubric).

Addressed: "His Excellency, Duke de la Alcudia."

---

[1] Provincias Internas, or Interior Provinces, being the northern provinces of Nueva Viscaya, Coahuila, Texas, New Mexico, Sinaloa and Sonora and the Californias, because they were in the interior as regarded from the city of Mexico.

LXXXIII

NEW SETTLEMENT AT LAS BARRANCAS À MARGOT AND RELATION WITH THE CHICKASAW INDIANS —1795

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

Letter from Carondelet:]

Secret.

YOUR EXCELLENCY:

Your Excellency will understand by the letter of Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, Governor of Natchez, a copy of which accompanies Number 1, of the good auspices under which has been begun the settlement of Las Barrancas de Margot. That settlement is located some 420 leagues from this capital on the eastern bank of the Misisipi, although it has been for some years the object of the ambition of the Americans, who had already previously designated it for the location of the fort, which, entirely dominating the Misisipi, would allow them to absolutely cut off communication of our settlements of Ylinoa, Santa Genoveva, Nueva Madrid, etc., with the capital [*i. e.*, Nueva Orleans]. Besides, being an advantageous port in which they could construct warships equal to ours, it would place them in a position of disputing with advantage the navigation of the Misisipi with the Spaniards, considering the superiority of their population over ours and having the current in their favor.

From the description which Gayoso makes us of that district, it is evident that a more advantageous location, because of its elevation above the river, or one of better defense could not be found, since that the three thousand[1] . . . . which . . . . us from the Chicachas are included between two rivers and a creek, called Bayu, which they have isolated all that possession throughout its circumference.

The official letter from the Commandant of Nuevo Madrid, which accompanies Number 2 with its three documents, and with the advices which I have had from the commissary of the King among the

---

[1] The lacunas in this document are due either to illegible writing, or to worn places in the original MS.

Chatá tribe, namely, Lieutenant-Colonel Don Juan de Villa, and so many others with that one, have enjoined me to have a care of the results of the annoyance which the American habitants of Cumberland have manifested when they received the news of our enterprise, for I do not doubt they will find support in the Chicachá tribe whose chief Paye Mingo [2] has ever been friendly to their side and has sôld them the lands of Murelechoala [3] on the Tenesi, on which they have recently erected a fort. And hence . . . . in the . . . . . of the companies of the regiment of Mexico which have retired from the fort of San Augustin to that of Havana. And not being able to leave our expedition exposed to any shame on the part of certain people, which the United States would disapprove in appearance without neglecting to take advantage of their attempt, I have arranged that forty men should go up as quickly as possible from the garrison of Nogales with four eight-pound pieces to Las Barrancas. With this force we ought to hope that the Americans will lose their desire to insult without artillery a point which could be defended by eight eight-pounders and supported by the galley squadron.

I doubt that Gayoso can succeed in stopping the war between the Creks and the Chicachas in regard to the fact that this [war is] a well-concerted plan by the Americans and directed for the purpose of . . . . as to others in order to drive them, as soon as they are weakened, to the other side of the Misisipi, that is, upon us. In fact, while those at Cumberland, excited by General Robertan [*i. e.*, Robertson] are taking up arms in favor of the Chicachás against the Criks, he is welcoming [*agrose*] the latter tribe among them and making constant expenses in order to conclude peace with their tribe, and is supplying them with plentiful presents of arms and ammunition which are to be employed against the Chicachas as one can assume easily. But since these latter are very few to resist the numerous tribe of the Criks and Talapuches, General Robertson spends on his part also all his rhetoric and with full hands to pledge the Chactá tribe to support the Chicachas. Thus placing an equal fate between both parts, that war will become both bloody and permanent, and consequently the Americans [will attain] the end which is proposed, namely, the destruction and annihilation of all the tribes living between the Ohio, the Misisipi, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Atlantic Ocean, and the possession of that immense and magnificent continent, which must most necessarily cause to fall into their power all the coast of the Gulf of Mexico and San Marcos de Apalache as far as Lakes Borque [4] and Pontchartrain, which are above Nueva Orleans; and once masters of the source of the navigable rivers which bathe those lands and empty into the gulf, they will establish the same claim which is now the object of the negotiations in regard to the navigation of the Misisipi, that is, a passageway to the sea for their productions.

---

[2] Piomingo.

[3] Mussel Shoals.

The sustaining of our allied tribes in the possession of their lands is, then, an indispensable object both for the conservation of Luisiana under the power of Spain and so that the Americans [may not attain] the navigation to the gulf. The time is now imperious and urgent; the Americans are bordering on the most complete success. The Chactás are dissatisfied with the presents which are given them and threaten to go over to the Americans who are calling them and inviting them by gifts to join the Chicachás. The Criks have been obliged, lastly, to cede a portion of their lands on the Oconi,[5] and not expecting longer to receive from us many arms and necessary ammunition to resist the Americans who are hemming them in on the Georgia side, by the Chicachás and by the upper bank of the Tenesi, they are actually treating of peace with the United States; . . . . have concluded theirs, and ceded a part of their lands for an annual rental of five thousand pesos. The remedy needs men and money, but we lack both, men to sustain, at least, with large forces the posts of Las Barrancas . . . . which . . . . the . . . . the nations; money to finish fortifying those points, to negotiate peace between the Criks and Chicachás, and to dissuade the Chactas from uniting with the last named. This is the manner in which the war can be immediately ended, for the Chicachás, to the number of several thousand men at arms, cannot resist the Criks, who can assemble more than eight thousand.

In consideration of all that I have written, will Your Majesty determine what is your greatest pleasure.

May God our Lord preserve Your Excellency many years.

Nueva Orleans, June 13, 1795.

Your Excellency,

Baron de Carondelet (rubric).

---

[4] Lake Borgne.

[5] Probably refers to the treaty of 1790 made with the Creeks in New York, by which they ceded their lands east of the Oconee to the confluence with the Oakmulgee and which form the Altawaha in Georgia.

Royal Decree . . . . . Chata tribe the authentic copy in the letter or word of Brigadier Robertson of Cumberland, which was directed by the half-breed, Benjamin Eames, a person well affected to Spain and of the greatest influence among his countrymen. By it Your Excellency will see confirmed whatever I have written

BARON DE CARONDELET (rubric).

Addressed: "His Excellency, Don Luis de las Casas."

Despatch from Gayoso de Lemos:]

Number 1, copy.

Secret. Number 6: On the twentieth of the current month I joined the squadron which was at this dockyard to which I gave the name of Esperanza [*i. e.*, hope.]

Don Pedro Rousseau had made a very considerable clearing in this district, his men having camped there, and he had taken very definitive measures for its defense.

On the opposite bank, not very far from the river Las Casas, was found Ugutayacabé, who was encamped with many of his influential men and warriors. I immediately sent someone to find him, and then, without losing a moment, by means of Fooy[6] I entered into conversation with him upon the objects of my commission in such a manner that I did not allow him any means to deceive me according to the practice of the Indians. He informed me of many considerations which rendered it difficult for the Creek tribe to listen to terms of peace, because of the want of confidence which they had in the sincerity of Taachio or Perro Rabioso [*i. e.*, Mad Dog] to whom he attributed the actual breaking out ot hostilities between the two tribes; for, although it is true, that Payemingo has embraced the side of the Americans, on the present occasion the massacre which he made on the bands of Creeks happened after members of the latter tribe killed a Chicachá in this same neighborhood, and afterward boasted of the deed. But, since, although he considers that the Creeks were the first aggressors, as they are the more powerful tribe, they will oppose making terms of peace, as the Chicachás had lost many more men than they, still his confidence in Your Lordship and in me, left him even some hope that, in spite of these obstacles, the peace which he desired so earnestly might be obtained.

In what concerns the construction of a fort on these Barrancas

---

[6] Benjamin Fooy, was a Spanish interpreter and in 1798 was authorized by Gayoso to form a Dutch or German settlement near Campo Esperanza not far from the present Memphis in what is now Arkansas.

[*i. e.*, bluffs] he told me that he knew he could not refuse it to me, since I had come personally to provide for it; that he had been governing through me for a long time; and that having spoken to him already on other occasions in regard to this same matter, he was not disposed to deny me now. Some days ago, his tribe learned that I had left Natchez and had gone up above the Yazú. That immediately made him conceive the idea that I was going up here with the determination of constructing a fort on his land; and he determined, therefore, to come to await me with many of his influential men and those of the large village which is that of the King.

I did not omit any argument to make him see their necessity of having one of our settlements, both for the advantage of their own defense, and for the security of their trade. I added that I was not coming to buy lands from them, but only to propose to them what was advisable for them, but that although he, as the proprietor of that district of Las Barrancas de Margot had granted me a settlement on them he desired that all his tribe know it, and that some boundaries be set to it, so clear that they would not give rise to any dispute in the future. I knew, I said, that a short distance from the mouth of the Las Casas River, there was a creek which ran toward the south, quite near to the Carondelet River. Therefore, what I desired was the lands between the Las Casas and Carondelet Rivers on the Misisipi with the depth even to the above-mentioned creek and some boundary reaching to the Carondelet River. I calculate that that will contain about three thousand arpents of land, a plot quite sufficient for the ends now proposed. By this manner all other persons would be excluded from this important place, which I consider more advantageous than the other bluffs, because not only do they dominate the passage of the river, but also protect the habitants of Arcanzas by restraining the Chicachas from going to commit thefts there. He reiterated to me that he admitted my word, and that he only desired to know whether I had the wherewithal to satisfy his people, because it was the custom among Indians, when they shortened their lands, to be given some recompense. I replied what I had already said to them, namely, that I did not come to buy his lands because I did not need them, and that if I proposed to build a fort it was as much for his benefit as for the benefit of the Spanish nation. Consequently, he must not think that I would pay them for the portion of land in question, but that, since I knew somewhat of the custom of treating with the redmen, I would give them some presents in memory of the affection which our nation professes for them. But I said that those goods would be delayed about twelve days; and so that he might see that I was treating him frankly and with sincerity I informed him of the quantity and quality of said goods.

Since it was already late we ended our conference. He dined with me and lodged with Don Elias Beauregard.

On the following day he told me that he desired to return to his camp, in order to inform his people of the object of my coming here. He informed me also of the embarrassment in which he found himself, in order that he might send to Don Juan Turnbull a quantity of skins which he had conducted to the Yazú, in order not to fear any attack on the way from the Creeks.

Since I had to despatch one of the boats which I rented, I promised to relieve him from the annoyance in which he found himself. That pleased him mightily, and he instantly marched to his camp.

On the following day, namely yesterday, I went to the other side of the river, accompanied by all the officers except Don Manuel Garcia, who remained in the squadron, to pay a visit to Ugulayacabé. He received me according to the custom of his tribe, in the midst of all his people, and seated under a shelter in which he lodged. After an exchange of compliments between us, I told him that I was coming to repeat to him, in his own country, and before his chiefs and influential men, what I had secretly discussed with him at our first meeting. Thereupon, I immediatey treated in detail the question of the making of peace with the Creeks, and of the establishment of the projected fort. It is the custom of the Indian chiefs who, even when they are determined to concede anything, and even after having promised it in private, when talking before their people, to put forth many objections. Ugulayacabé did the same, so that in truth one would believe that he had changed his mode of thought. His method of procedure would be enough to make anyone grow impatient who does not know the interested character of the Indians; and in spite of his having conceded it, I also feared that there were new difficulties which would oppose it, since the lack of consistency in Ugulayacabé lasted more than the three hours of our conference. Therefore, I determined to show a decisive resolution, running over in very few words the chief points of my commission. I concluded by telling him that I also demanded a clear and conclusive reply, and in order that he might consult freely with his influential men who were present, I would retire until they summoned me; and I did so with all those who accompanied me.

After about an hour, he had me summoned and told me that, since I had to talk with other chiefs of his tribe, it would be necessary to wait until they came and then after hearing my reasons, they would resolve in regard to what I had proposed, giving me to understand both what I doubted of his power to cede me the land which I asked for, and what I also recognized, namely, that he was sorry for the coming together of other people; for in such a case, each one would receive a very little present. And, since, in the present circumstances, the occupying of this post is of the greatest importance, it appeared to me advisable to give a new turn to the condition of our negotiation by telling him that I conformed to his way of thinking. Therefore, in respect to my proposition of peace with the Creeks, and since he also told me that he did not change his word at all, I thanked him for the cession which he had given me of that same bit of land of which we were speaking, and that in regard to the presents, I destined the greater part of them for him and for his people since he was the only master of that land; that if Payemingo came with any other chiefs I would not lack means to give him a big welcome. However, I was not summoning them for the only purpose of giving him presents, but only to treat with them on matters which concerned them more than me. Whereupon he was satisfied and content.

Then I asked him to tell me when I could transfer my camp to that place, for my men were quite inactive and I desired to employ them right away in making a clearing and beginning the building. He replied to me that I could move thither whenever I wished, and asked me what kind of a building I was thinking of constructing. I answered him that I was contemplating the building of a fort to protect them and to assure the lands of my King. He thought this was all right, and recommended me to build a stout fort so that they might not be ashamed, giving me to understand by this, that it should be of such a manner that the Americans could not take possession of it, because, if they succeeded in so doing, they would harshly treat those Indians who followed another band distinct from that of Payemingo. I assured him that the fort would have a sufficient number of cannon, and would be so constructed that it could not be easily captured.

Since it was now very late I bid them farewell, and asked them if they wanted to come to dine with me. Nine of them came with me, and, after eating, they again retired, and when I had bid them farewell, I understood that the clearing to which they agreed would begin this morning.

In fact, this morning at break of day, I sent fifty men in charge of Don Pedro Rousseau, who came back again at noon to eat, the work having been advanced greatly without any opposition. They will return this afternoon, and the work will be continued without interruption until I can lodge there in order to fly the banner of the King in that place.

Ugulayacabé does not leave me for a single moment, because he intends to retire tomorrow to his village.

This chief, having condescended to the most essential part of my commission, by ceding me a bit of land, whose value cannot easily be estimated because of its very great importance, it was necessary for me to show them my gratitude immediately by giving them something; but I could find nothing else to give them than forty-one Indian shirts, nine barrels of brandy, ninety pounds of powder, sixty of balls, and one hundred flint-lock muskets, with food for their voyage, which will last four days from this place to their village.

I cannot at present enter upon other details, as time is lacking to me, since I have devoted all of my time to negotiations with the Indians since I have considered that indispensable, especially since I have succeeded by this means in obtaining the performance of my commission.

I live in hopes that Your Lordship will be assured that I am omitting nothing for the complete attainment of these important objects with which you have been pleased to trust me, and that I shall not cease until they are completed.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years. Aboard the "Vigilante" in the dockyard at Esperanza, opposite the Las Casas River, May 23, 1795.

MANUEL GAYOSO DE LEMOS

Addressed: "Baron de Carondelet."

LXXXIV

RUMORS AS TO LAS BARRANCAS DE MARGOT—1795

Archivo General Central, at Alcalá de Henares, Spain; Estado, Legajo 3897.

(From transcript in Wisconsin Historical Society.)

Copy.

Under date of April 29 last, Mr. Doyle, Commandant of Fort Massac on the Ohio, wrote me according to the terms of his original letter (number 1), to which I replied as Your Lordship will see in number 2. The third of the current month, I received the declaration from Estans,[1] a citizen of this post, which is contained in number 3, in the official letter which I sent on to Don Pedro Rousseau, at Los Ecores à Márgot.

On his arrival at this post with his cruiser, Don Francisco Langlois showed me the original which he has told me that he is sending to Your Lordship.

I lay everything before your Lordship, so that having considered it you may please tell me whether what has been done has your approval.

May God preserve Your Lordship for many years.

Nuevo Madrid, May 8, 1795.

Tomás Portell.

Addressed: "Baron de Carondelet."

Number 1. Translation.

Fort Massac, April 27, 1795.

Dear Sir:

Mr. Easton has just informed me that the Chicachás Indians, having petitioned for aid from General Robertson, a party composed of his militia has left Cumberland for that purpose, and is at present marching toward Las Barrancas de Margot.

I have been informed that those who are now on the way with some Indians are only going to escort the provisions. The others have gone by land on horseback.

If your orders do not permit you to allow foreign soldiers to pass your post, it will be expedient for you to despatch a courier to meet the above-mentioned detachment of militia. If it be met in the Ohio, so much the better.

---

[1] Easton.

As I have not been given advice upon this matter, I can tell you nothing else about it. Neither do I know anything of the Atlantic States.

I remain your most obedient servant,

MAJOR DOYLE,
Commandant of the fort of Massac.

Addressed: "Don Tomas Portell."

Countersigned as an enclosure:

BARON DE CARONDELET (rubric).

Number 2.

Nuevo Madrid, May 1, 1795.

DEAR SIR:

I have received your favor of the 29th ult., by which I am advised that you had learned from the master of the scow belonging to Dr. Ricardo Waters that General Robertson has sent a body of troops to Las Barrancas de Margot at the petition of the Chicacha Indians, in order to aid them, and that he was about to descend the Misisipi with some Indians and provisions.

I thank you for both advices. But I must tell you in friendship that beyond a doubt some of the navigation of the Misisipi belongs to us by right, by which it is natural that I should have received orders to prevent any body of troops or any armed force, however small, from attempting to descend the Misisipi, whenever it thinks of doing anything of that nature. It will be well beforehand to instruct me by an official letter, and I will reply categorically to the questions that shall have been asked me.

Not having any news to give you, I remain most sincerely your most affectionate and humble servant,

THOMAS PORTELL.

Addressed: "Major Doyle."

Countersigned as enclosure to the Duke de la Alcudia:

"BARON DE CARONDELET."

Number 3. Copy.

Yesterday, the third of the current month, under oath, I received from a citizen of this post named Estans the following declaration:

He told me that he had left some thirty Chícachá Indians at the mouth of the Cumberland River who were accompanied by fifteen white men whose destination was the same, who were armed with carbines; and that in the same district where they were, there was a certain number of white men (a more numerous party) likewise armed, who were about to go to that place where Your Grace is, under pretext of aiding the Indians of the above-mentioned nation in their war against the Creeks.

I shall do whatever is possible if they arrive at this post to prevent the whites from passing; but if they persist in it, I shall allow them to continue their voyage, in accordance with the orders which I have received to have them pursued by the boat or boats of His Majesty that are found there.

I advise Your Grace of this, so that in case it falls out according to my orders, and I assure you that as soon as the above-mentioned men arrive at this destination, I shall immediately despatch a pirogue advising you of what they determine to do, so that Your Grace may be able to act in consequence of that determination.

May God preserve Your Grace for many years,

TOMAS PORTELL.

Addressed: "Pedro Rousseau, Commandant of the galleys."

Countersigned as an enclosure to Duke de la Alcudia:

"BARON DE CARONDELET."

LXXXV

DON CARLOS HOWARD APPOINTED MILITARY COMMANDANT OF UPPER LOUISIANA — 1796

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

Letter to Trudeau:]

Your Grace, conserving the political command of those settlements, shall cause Lieutenant-Colonel Don Carlos Howard to be recognized as military Commandant of all the settlements of Ylinoa as far as Neuvo Madrid, and inclusive. You shall obey the orders given Your Grace by virtue of my letters for the better service of His Majesty in the defense of that country.

May God our Lord preserve Your Grace many years. Nueva Orleans, November 27, 1796.

Baron de Carondelet.

Addressed: "Don Zenon Trudeau."

Letter to Dehault de Lassus:]

I have arranged for the Lieutenant-Colonel of the Infantry Regiment of Luisiana, Don Carlos Howard, to go to those settlements, entrusted with the military command of all the settlements inclusive of Nuevo Madrid, under Your Grace's command. I advise Your Grace thereof for your guidance, so that you may fulfil the orders of the royal service which he shall give you.

May God our Lord preserve Your Grace many years. Nueva Orleans, November 27, 1796.

Baron de Carondelet.

Addressed: "Don Carlos de Lassus."

LXXXVI

EXPEDITION UNDER DON CARLOS HOWARD TO UPPER LOUISIANA — 1796

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba [1796].

Secret general orders to be observed by Don Carlos Howard, Lieutenant-Colonel of the regular regiment of Luisiana entrusted with the command of the forces of Alta Luisiana, that is, from Nuevo Madrid to the last discoveries of the Misuri Company, inclusive.

You are to leave this capital in the galley "Phelipa" with twenty chosen men commanded by a subaltern officer, under the pretext that you are to replace at Natches Governor Gayoso, who has been charged with the demarcation of the boundaries. You will meet at your arrival the royal galiot "La Activa" and will embark in it with your troops and their baggage without the least delay. You will also put aboard it at the same time half the crew of the "Phelipa," from whom you will choose the most vigorous and daring of the men, giving them to content them in case of necessity a month's advanced pay, and taking from the said "Phelipa" rations for two months at least for all your forces. Governor Gayoso will contribute on his part to the provisions, and you will inform him in confidence that you are going to San Luis de Ylinoa to reëstablish the calm which has been disturbed by some hot-heads since the departure of General Collot. You will give him no more information, for he is to know nothing of the evacuation of the Barrancas de Margot nor of the other matters with which these orders are concerned.

On reaching the Barrancas you will secretly take measures in concert with the Commandant there, Don José Ville, and with the Commandant of the galleys, Don Manuel Garcia, for the evacuation of the post, in which nothing is to be left. You are to throw into the river or burn everything which can not be transported in the galleys.

As the Chicashá Indians may feel some irritation because of the evacuation, it will be desirable that it should be accomplished with the greatest order and speed. The artillery, or at least a couple of cannons in battery, should be left to the last instant, as should also one of the blockhouses, which will be fired at the moment of embarcation after all the serviceable iron-work has been taken away. If any Chicashá chief or trader wishes to oppose the destruction of the buildings with his warriors, you will say to them that it is for the interest of their tribe for the buildings to be razed, so that the Americans may not be assisted to establish themselves in them.

After the whole has been put aboard the galleys and the other smaller vessels, they will take their course to Nuevo Madrid, where the following arrangements will be made for the expedition to Ylinoa.

Of the troop of the royal forces of artillery of the regular Luisiana regiment, and of the pieces of artillery assembled at that post there are to be assigned:

At Nuevo Madrid — Troops and Munitions

Four inch cannon	4,	with 100 rounds shot and 50 loads of grape.
Swivel guns	4,	with 40 shot.
Powder		
Gunners, including a master gunner,	2	
Detached from the regular regiment,	32	

At San Luis de Ylinoa

The rest of the artillery		
Swivel guns	do.	
Gunners, including master gunner		
Detached from regular regiment	110	including 4 sergeants, 8 corporals, and 2 drummers.

To complete this detachment there will be embarked at Nuevo Madrid sixty-one men of the regular regiment including twenty-four from the "Activa," all the gunners, the artillery and swivel guns with arms and ammunition, in the two galleys, two galiots, and a gunboat, in case they can be carried in them. The rest shall be put aboard the third galley, which will return immediately under the command of Don Juan Barno[1] and is to come back to this capital, leaving on the way ten men at Akanzas.

If the third galley is needed for the expedition you will put aboard her the rest of the forces, and the effects which are to be brought back to the capital will remain deposited at Nuevo Madrid until you return.

---

[1] Don Juan Barno y Ferrusola, who was greffier at New Madrid.

That the restless minds who are at San Luis may not be fully informed of the departure of this expedition, you will take care to spread the report after your arrival at Nuevo Madrid that the object of your journey is to protect San Luis de Ylinoa against an invasion of the English in case war is declared. But if at your arrival at Nuevo Madrid the river shall be frozen, and you shall judge the arrival of your detachment at San Luis urgently necessary, you will endeavor by all possible means to make your way overland, leaving with the commandants of the galleys orders to unite their squadron with you as soon as the frosts will permit.

Since there are at San Luis no barracks sufficient to lodge the one hundred and ten men who are to compose the garrison there, the citizens will be obliged to give quarters in their houses to all the troops who cannot find room in the fort, or else to provide a building for them at the expense of the community. They are to be made to understand that this force has accidentally [temporarily] been stationed there with a view to their protection and defense.

You will provide that the following officers of the detachment, Don José de Ville, Don Francisco Barras, and Don Federico Auteman, shall have their quarters in the houses of the leading citizens as near as may be to the forces, so that more vigorous discipline may be observed among them. No doubt you will take the same care with the artillery force, and will drill both infantry and artillery frequently as well in the manual of arms as in that of artillery.

After stationing your forces and disembarking all the artillery with the ammunition, arms, etc.— which are to be placed near the fort until they are distributed at the necessary points of defense — you will summon a meeting of the leading citizens and will set forth to them how displeasing to me has been the ingratitude shown by some of the citizens to the Spanish Government, whose principal efforts have been exercised in this region for some years in fostering commerce, and the prosperity of the inhabitants of the Ylinoeses settlements. This ingratitude has been exhibited to excess not only in the manifestation of improper joy over their ill-founded hopes of a change of government, but in their going even so far as to form a secret society under the name of Sansculottes, and singing scandalous and revolutionary songs in contempt of the Government. But being well informed as to the persons who have committed these intemperate acts, and being persuaded that the others have been carried away thoughtlessly by fear and bad examples, I have decided that the following-named persons shall be sent to the capital, namely, Coginard,[2] Pepin,[3] and all others of whose bad conduct information shall be previously brought by the heedfulness of Don Zenon Trudeau, Vallé, and Don Carlos Lassus. The number is to be reduced to the minimum so as to calm the rest of the citizens. You will add in conclusion my conviction that all the citizens will join with their labor and with that of their slaves in putting the town, with their property and children, in safety against an attack from the English. This is the ground which has determined me to send them a numerous detachment. You will immediately request a list of the population able to bear arms because of their ages and activity, and a list of their weapons and ammunition; and then after dismissing the council you will cause the prisoners to be seized and placed on board the galleys. The galleys must then immediately sail down with them under guard of the force remaining after the hundred and ten soldiers of the regular regiment have been detached to remain in San Luis. The galley "Venganza" with the two galiots and the gunboats will remain at San Luis — the first without any people aboard but the master and two sailors, the two galiots under the command of Lieutenant of Regulars Don Bautista Metzinger and Sub-Lieutenant Don Bernardo Molina with the complete crew in each case, and the gunboat with a master and two sailors. The marine force is to be under the command of Don Juan Bautista Metzinger, who will receive his orders from Lieutenant Colonel Don Carlos Howard, Commandant of the military forces.

In case it becomes necessary to arm the galley for any expedition, Don Juan Metzinger will take charge of her and her crew will be completed from the crews of the two galiots. If those vessels shall be needed at the same time, the crew of the galley shall then be filled up from the inhabitants of that region. They shall be paid like the rest of the sailors, unless they consent to go as volunteers and without pay, upon the promise of receiving a certain share of the prizes which they may take from the enemy. The same method shall be observed in case it shall be necessary to arm the gunboat.

Out of the two large galleys which are to go back to the capital Don Carlos Howard will take the shells, weapons, and munitions, and if necessary the prow guns of four-inch calibre for the defense of the town. The command shall be entrusted to the Commandant of the galleys, Lieutenant of Regulars Don Manuel Garcia, who is to bring back with him on his return the list of everything taken out of them. Since circumstances do not permit the undertaking of enterprises of consequence without the previous approval of His Majesty, everything which may be determined upon in accordance with the accompanying plan for putting the town in a position to resist a sudden attack will have to be provisional and at local expense. The total cost must not exceed five thousand pesos. Advantage is to be taken of the opportunities of the situation of the town, and of the possibility of flooding the country round about by means of the little stream running along its right side. A dam to raise its waters may be protected by a redoubt of earth, which should be raised on the same side, and the fire of which should cross that of the fort, while the shot of the fort should cross that of the redoubts or bulwark begun on the left, and the river side will be protected by the heavy artillery of the galley and of the gunboat.

---

[2] But in 1799 subscribed 10 pesos to aid the King of Spain. See also Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 159, note 73.

[3] Jean Marie Pepin, dit Lachance. See vol. i, p. 191, note 29.

As the fort is not defended by anything except a stockade this will be protected by a covered way, provided that the situation permits it.

For the direction of these works you will employ Don Luis de Vandenbenden, an engineer of great talent, who shall receive eighty pesos a month salary so long as he shall be employed, and until His Majesty shall determine upon the rank which should be conferred upon him.

Since all these works are to be on land and are principally intended to serve for the protection of the inhabitants of the town as well as of the neighboring settlements, you will take care to oblige them to work without profit [pay] in building them, and in case of necessity you will make use of the military and marine forces, and employ them on the same works, giving them the accustomed gratification of two reals a day.

Since the fate of Alta Luisiana from the Misuri all the way to Nuevo Madrid depends upon the defense of the town of San Luis de Ylinoa, it will be necessary, in case of the city's being threatened by the English, to assemble in it all the militia of the country, who will compose a force of nine companies, to wit: three in San Luis, three in Santa Genoveva, one in Carondelet, one in San Carlos, and one in Florissant — a sufficient number with the regular troops to make a brilliant defense. This is the more true because the enemy cannot attack the town with artillery, because of the difficulty or impossibility of transporting it from Lake Michigan.

Although the forces which can be employed are extremely small, plans should not be limited to making a regular defense. It is possible that the circumstances will be such as to afford an opportunity at small expense of doing much harm to the enemy.

There are two essential objects which are to occupy the attention of Lieutenant Colonel Don Carlos Howard — the defense of the town of San Luis, and the destruction of the English trade both on the upper Misisipi and on the Misuri. We have already treated of the former, and as far as concerns the latter, if immediately after having attended to providing his detachment with quarters, and received the necessary information, he should send an expedition to reconnoitre along the banks of the Misisipi from San Luis to the mouth of the river San Pedro, it is likely that he would destroy and capture many English trading canoes, the goods in which may be divided — half to the King, and half to those who compose the expedition. But for the sake of protection against an attack by the savages on the side of the English, it will be best to include in the expedition the gunboat with the galiots, since the heavy artillery on the former will alarm them and put them to flight.

In the year 1781 a small party of the inhabitants of San Luis with some savages made themselves masters of the post of San José on the river of the same name which flows into Lake Michigan. That which they did then may be accomplished now with greater means and more complete knowledge. The militia Captain, Don Carlos Tayon, who was in the expedition, is still alive, and I do not doubt that he can inform you of the means of capturing and destroying this post a second time.

An expedition of the same force may be detached against any other post which the English have established to carry on their trade in furs on the nearer rivers. But providing the latest reports received by Governor Don Zenon Trudeau confirm the news of the establishment of a fort by the English among the Mandana tribe you will arrange as secretly as possible, and taking advantage of all the knowledge which you can acquire from the traders who have gone as far as this tribe, an expedition sufficient to destroy it; for the command of His Majesty upon this point is positive and admits of no neglect and no more delay than is necessary for the selection of the station most favorable to the success of the expedition.

It is very likely that the French will attack Canada by the San Lorenzo River, and will excite a rebellion in their favor that will certainly oblige the Governor of Canada to devote all his attention and to take all his forces to Alta Canada. Lieutenant Colonel Don Carlos Howar [*sic*] will try beforehand to obtain information as to the forces and the situation of the English posts, and as to the temper of the inhabitants, especially in Michelimakinak, in order, in the case supposed, to excite at the same time a revolution in Baxo Canada in favor of France. This would entirely protect Alta Luisiana from the English during the war. Since the inhabitants of San Luis have had close intimacy with those of Michelimakinak, there will be no great difficulty in forming secret relations with the latter; and you may promise immediately to send arms and ammunition, and may even support them with the expedition in case as I have said the English Governor withdraws his troops from Baxo [bajo] Canada to oppose the French in Canada Superior.

The forces which may be employed, if any, in these expeditions referred to must not exceed two hundred men divided between regular troops and militia. It is understood that of the first, that is, of the regular troops, no more than forty men are to be withdrawn, whose function will be particularly the serving of the artillery, provided there may be employed in the expedition some light pieces, the effect of which will be very useful with the savages. Of the militia as many as two hundred of the most loyal and courageous may be chosen for each expedition. They may be promised a part of the booty in case any of consequence is taken. The same promise may be made to volunteers who may be willing to serve on the expedition without pay. The others shall enjoy the accustomed pay so long as they may be employed, and shall receive a daily ration. If the complement of the regular regiment is made up, and if His Majesty determines that the body of the tribes now in the province may be taken out of it, the garrison of San Luis will be reinforced to put it in a better condition to disturb the English and above all to destroy their trade to the north of the Misuri.

It is desirable that the Lieutenant Governor, Don Zenon Trudeau, should remain in civil command of the settlements of Ylinoa and of San Luis, their chief town, in consideration of the knowledge which he has acquired of these regions within four years and of the great affection which the inhabitants in general profess for him. His temper is mild — perhaps too much so — but he is an officer of many good qualities and deserving of entire trust. His too great condescension to General Collot has been an effect of his mild and trustful character. It is proper that Don Carlos Howard should treat him with friendship and confidence so that the inhabitants may be ready to coöperate in the execution of his military measures. Lieutenant Don José de Ville de Gontin is a firm officer of talent, to whom may by entrusted the command of an expedition requiring intrepidity and energy, as also may be the business affairs of the detachment, although it will be more suitable that Don Zenon Trudeau should take them in charge.

The Sub-Lieutenant Francisco Barras has nothing but the courage of a grenadier, and is faulty in conduct.

The Lieutenant of Regulars, Don Juan Bautista Metzinger, is bold, an excellent hunter, enduring of fatigue, without military talent, and always obstinate. He is very well suited for a *coup de main* and for the preservation of good order and discipline in the marine force. He should remain as commandant of all the vessels of the King.

The Sub-Lieutenant Don Bernardo Molina is coarse, fat, but intrepid, indefatigable, and excellent in his management of his sailors. They accuse him of having been given to drink ever since he has been at Los Cores [Les Écors].

Lieutenant Colonel Don Carlos Lassus, Commandant of Nuevo Madrid, is a man of excellent character, who distinguished himself in the last war and was highly esteemed. His father, Don Pedro Luzieres, a French emigré, formerly rich, lives retired in Santa Genoveva, among the inhabitants of which place he is in universal esteem. The same thing is true of the Commandant, Don Francisco Vallé, a man of fine qualities although without military talent. Both deserve the greatest confidence, and by their influence will be able to control the settlement there, which is steadily increasing both in value and numbers. It will be desirable to dismiss the Captain of regulars, Don Henrique Peyroux, a suspicious, loose-tongued fellow, if any plausible ground for doing so shall appear. About two years ago he promised to leave this post, of which my predecessor had made him Commandant, but he never carried out his promise.

Don Luis Lorimier, Captain of militia, settled at Cabo Girardeau, is a Frenchman who served us well during the previous war, and whose influence over a number of the Soharanron[4] tribe, from

---

Shawnee.

whom he has taken an Indian woman as a wife, may be of great use. As for the rest he is a selfish man who thinks of his own advancement.

In San Luis, the two brothers Schouteau, the son of Don Pedro Lusiere,[8] and Don Soulard, deserve all confidence. The first two because of their great influence over the numerous tribe of the Osages may be very useful in the expeditions. The other two have served in the French marine, and may be employed in the same service in the expedition on the river. Soulard may also serve in the direction of the fortifications, under the orders of the volunteer Engineer Don Luis Vandenbenden with the Lieutenant Don José de Ville.

The Messrs. Clamorgan, director of the company of the Misuri, Cerré, Prato,[9] and Robidoux are honorable and loyal citizens. Gratiot has talent, and many connections with Canada. Finally Don Zenon Trudeau is a man of veracity, and from him Don Carlos Howard will be able to get good information as to the character of every individual.

There is one Pepin, a man of system, who writes with talent and who perhaps really has some, but a peevish fellow and an enemy [of] our Government, of which he spoke with the greatest bitterness and falsity to General Collot, from whom I have received these details. This was done in the presence of the said Don Zenon Trudeau, as the said General assures me. Don Carlos Howard will inform himself whether this report is accurate. In this case he will send him back to me as a prisoner with the rest, for it is more than likely that he is one of the leaders of this society of the Sansculottes, and consequently after their departure it will be necessary to proceed in summary manner against him as well as against those who shall have been sent back to the capital for the investigation of their intemperate acts.

In case the enemy attacks the town of San Luis with such superior force as to take away all hope of any satisfactory defense — which I consider the more unlikely since they cannot bring with them artillery of regular calibre — Lieutenant Colonel Don Carlos Howard will endeavor to render useless all the artillery and munitions of war which cannot be embarked, and will withdraw to Nuevo Madrid. This post also he will likewise evacuate upon the approach of the enemy with excessively superior force, so that there may be assembled at Akanzas all the forces which defended Luisiana Superior, and so that he may fortify himself at this post in order to cover all the interior settlements on the west bank of the Misisipi, and may molest any of the enemy's ships which may attempt to come down the Misisipi. Here he will remain until he shall receive further orders from the Commandant General of the province.

---

[8] Jacques Ceran Marcelin de Lassus de Luziere de St. Vrain, usually known as Jacques Ceran St. Vrain.

[9] Pratte.

The zeal, prudence, energy, and devotion to the royal service which he has exhibited in the command of the frontier of Florida Oriental causes me to expect that in cases not foreseen in these orders he will take the most proper course, always fixing the glory of [our] arms and the tranquillity of Alta Luisiana on foundations secure and honorable in the Spanish name.

Nueva Orleans, November 26, 1795.

BARON DE CARONDELET (rubric).

LXXXVII

PLAN TO DEFEND ST. LOUIS — THE MARKING OF THE BOUNDARY LINE BETWEEN THE SPANISH FLORIDAS AND UNITED STATES EXASPERATES INDIANS — 1796

General Archives of the Indies — Audiencia of Santo Domingo; Est. 86, caj. 7, leg. 2."

No. 1. Private correspondence:]

Synopsis:]

The acting Commandant-General of the provinces of Luisiana and West Flordai sets forth the importance and urgency of the causes which have decided him to send a strong detachment and protect the town of San Luis of Ilinoa, the capital of Upper Luisiana, with some defenses against the English of Canada — who will not fail to make themselves masters of it, so that they may entrench themselves on the Misisipi. He also solicits the royal approbation for the cost of this, which will not exceed five thousand pesos, as also for the eighty pesos a month which he assigned to Don Luis Vandenbenden, (an excellent Dutch engineer who is in Upper Luisiana) during the time while the work will go on under his direction, because the two engineers already in the province were hindered from it by urgent affairs of the royal service.

Letter:]

Most Excellent Sir: Very quickly have been exhibited the effects of the journey which was made to this province by the General of the French republic, Jorge Victor Collot[1] — whom I detained for several days, on account of his having made a relief plan of the river and of most of the posts of this province, as my Captain-General will have informed Your Excellency — for, as they advise me under date of October 17, there was formed at San Luis, the capital of the settlements there, after Collot went away, a society to which was given the name of "Sansculottes," at the head of which is a Frenchman named Coigna, *i. e.*, Cogniard; that it frequently gives public functions and dances, to which invitations are issued without any reserve, under the aforesaid appellation of "Sansculottes"; and that during these diversions songs are sung that are revolutionary, and that tend to influence the most loyal vassals to rebellion. It is stated that this society had the audacity to go past the houses of the more notable residents of the town, and especially that of the cura, with musical instruments, to wish them a happy New Year, on the twenty-second day of last September — that is, on the eve of the twenty-third, on which day this year begins according to the new French calendar.

---

[1] Gen. Victor Collot served on the staff of Rochambeau during the Revolutionary war in America. Afterward he attained the rank of Major-General in France and was chief of staff of the army of the North in 1792. He was tendered the position of Governor-General of St. Domingo in 1792 — but being informed that he would be accompanied by two commissioners of the French assembly he declined the position. In 1794 he was appointed Governor of Guadeloupe, but when that island was captured by the English, made a prisoner and upon his parole sent to the United States. When he arrived at Philadelphia, he was arrested on account of having confirmed a judgment of the Prize Court at Guadeloupe as Governor, by a merchant there, and placed under bonds not to leave the country, nor could he secure a release, and during the stirring period

By a vessel recently arrived from Nueva York I have received another letter informing me of the approaching arrival of Augusto la Chaisse in this province, to which he comes (as a French engineer declared to the master of the said vessel) with evil intentions; and although the object of his voyage may be, according to the American newspapers, a secret commission for Kentucky, I have other and previous advices which persuade me that what the aforesaid engineer said is correct.

It is all the more important to cut off without delay the beginnings of a sedition, so dangerous that if they spread to the other settlements of which San Luis of Ilinoa is the capital their reduction would be extremely difficult and costly: First, because those settlements, from Nuevo Madrid up, may separate entirely from Lower Luisiana, obtaining whatever they may need from the English and Americans, and selling to them their produce and commodities (which chiefly consist of furs) at prices more advantageous than those of the capital. Second, on account of the ease with which they would receive support in secret from the English of Canada,

of the French revolution was thus detained in the United States. During this enforced stay anxious to be of service to France he made a journey into the interior of the United States, and examined the Spanish possessions on the Missisippi accompanied by his Adjutant-General Warin who afterwards was killed by a Chickasaw Indian on the lower Mississippi. His Journal of his journey, entitled "Voyage dans L'Amerique Septentrionale," was published in Paris, in 1826 after his death.

who trade upon the Misuri, as well as from the Americans and the French democrats who would go in numbers to settle in those fertile and beautiful regions. Finally, because any expedition which might be sent to reduce those who revolted would be obliged, as it could set out only from Nueva Orleans, to spend two and a half or three months in reaching San Luis, it would cost, in consequence, enormous sums; and as it could not receive provisions or reënforcements save from Lower Luisiana the men would be exposed to dying from hunger in case their advance should be delayed.

All these considerations have decided me to send secretly the Lieutenant-Colonel of the regiment stationed here, Don Carlos Howard, an officer of well-proved ability and courage, to Ilinoa with the confidential commission to arrest, on his arrival there, the head of the society, Cogniard, with some others among the more notable of the same, and send them at once to this capital, in order to bring them to trial and inflict exemplary punishment on those who shall be found guilty. Just then I received the private official letter from the ministry of state, dated August 25, which authorized me in His Majesty's name to despatch the expedition which I had proposed to send, and to undertake hostile proceedings against the settlement formed by the English, according to the latest information, on the Chato[2] River south of the Misuri, either from San Luis of Ilinoa or from the point which should be most convenient. Having received at the same time another official letter from the same ministry, by which I was notified that His Majesty desires that punctual fulfilment be given to the late treaty of friendship, boundaries, and navigation concluded with the United States of America, in view of the scarcity of troops which Luisiana suffers I decided to proceed immediately to the evacuation of the posts which unquestionably are located farther up than the thirty-first degree north of the equator according to Article II of the said treaty — carrying away whatever could be utilized, and leaving the lands on which the forts were situated (San Fernando de los Barrancas, La Confederación, Tombecbe, and Nogales[3]) entirely unoccupied, so that at no time could the Chicacha and Chactá Indians say that España had shown bad faith with them by surrendering those forts and placing the Americans in possession of them, when they had consented that the Spaniards should erect the forts on their land solely for the purpose of preventing the Americans from making themselves masters of the same. The copy of the official letter from the Governor of Natchés which accompanies this, will fully inform Your Excellency of the objections which the Indians make on account of [our] desiring the line [of demarcation] to run through their lands, as also of the great circumspection which it will be necessary to use in order to secure the demarcation, without becoming involved in a bloody war with them.

---

[2] Platte.

[3] Walnut Hill.

When the aforesaid ports shall be evacuated — except that of Natchés, which will remain in our possession until the arrival of the American Commissary and Governor — I will collect with great secrecy and celerity, at San Luis of Ilinoa, some hundred and twenty men of the regular troops, with a galley, two galiots, and a gunboat, with which I propose to break up the clandestine trade which is carried on by the English of Canada upon the Misisipi, from the river of San Pedro as far as San Luis of Ilinoa, and from that town as far as the Mandan tribe, who are located on the Misuri, 400 leagues above San Luis. [I also propose] to destroy the fort which they have erected on the Chato River, and afterward, if I can, to collect at that place some more troops, in case the 460 men who are lacking in the regiment stationed here shall be supplied, or the second battalion from the Mexican regiment, the permanency of which is indispensable during the war in this province, and I entreat Your Excellency to furnish them. We should not hesitate to make an attempt against the posts which the English occupy to the east of the Misisipi, as far as Lake Michigan; the destruction of these would cause them a considerable loss, and would ruin the rich trade in peltries which is carried on by Michelimakinak north of the Misuri.

For, if perchance the French shall decide to attack Upper Canada, I shall also endeavor to establish and maintain friendly relations with the habitants of Lower Canada, by means of which we may be able to stir up among those people (who are still generally inclined to France) an insurrection, which would facilitate our entrance as auxiliaries and would make a diversion that would be very favorable to the French.

By means of these measures — the execution of which I am confiding to the Lieutenant-Colonel of the regiment stationed here, Don Carlos Howard, an officer of much merit, military ability, and discretion — I shall succeed not only in quieting and making secure San Luis of Ilinoa, but in destroying the aforesaid fort on the Chato

River, and the underhand trade of the English, and in disturbing their nearer settlements.

Since the town of San Luis, the capital of Upper Luisiana is exceedingly important on account of its situation, for on its preservation entirely depends that of the same [province] as far as Akansas Post, situated 250 leagues farther down [the Misisipi], it is very practicable (and even probable) that the English will attempt its conquest. This, in the condition in which that post is, would cost no more than to present themselves before it with six hundred men, since all its defense consists in a little fort of palisades garrisoned by twenty-eight men. In consequence, I have decided to place the town, at very little cost, in a regular condition of defense, availing myself of a little river[4] of which the waters will supply a considerable overflow around the same. I will cause the stream to flow backward by means of a dam, and will erect at its extremities two redoubts of earth and fascines, defended by some pieces [of artillery]; these will keep up a crossfire with the fort, which is situated in the center, on a commanding eminence, so that the enemy cannot bring up artillery without the utmost difficulty. It is evident that San Luis, with the detachment of regular troops which it will have, and with some five companies of excellent militia besides which can be raised there, will be capable of a regular defense against the small forces that can attack it.

As the two official engineers of this province have been employed for a year past in drafting the plans of it which the board of general officers has required, I have entrusted the direction of those works [at San Luis] to an excellent engineer, a Dutchman by nationality, and earlier in the service of France, named Luis Vanden Benden, allotting him a salary of eighty pesos a month while his commission lasts (or until His Majesty shall deign to take this man into his service), with the title of Topographical Engineer and the rank of Captain in the army, as I have solicited from the ministry of state, considering the great advantage which he will certainly render to His Majesty. At the same time, I have recommended to Lieutenant-Colonel Howard the greatest economy in the works; and I have confined the total cost of these to only five thousand pesos. In view of this, and of the urgent expediency of these works, and of the secrecy which I am obliged to observe in regard to the approaching declaration of war which has been confided to me by the ministry of state which does not permit me to observe the formalities of convening councils and doing other things that are customary, I trust that Your Excellency will deign to secure the royal approbation for both expenditures, and that all the measures which my zeal and affection for the royal service have dictated to me will gain for me your good-will and the royal grace. May God preserve Your Excellency for many years. Nueva Orleans, December 1, 1796.

---

[4] La Petite Rivière — or Mill Creek — obliterated now by the St. Louis railroad yards, under which runs the Millcreek sewer.

Most excellent Sir,

Baron de Carondelet.

Addressed: "To His Excellency Don Miguel José de Asansa."

Copy; No. 771:]

Three Indians have just arrived, despatched by Lieutenant-Colonel Don Juan de la Villebeuvre, Commissary for His Majesty in the Chactas tribe, with a letter of the following contents:

"Ever since the chiefs left their villages to go to Natchez, to represent that they are unwilling to have the Americans extend their [boundary] lines (as I have informed the Governor and Your Lordship, by the same) their warriors have been very restive, much more so when lately some of those from the village Auclabula set out to kill two habitants of Natches and a woman, thinking that they were Americans. Fortunately for them, the two habitants had gone away, and the Indians could not get at them; but they are threatening to kill all persons who may pass through their lands, unless these go provided with a passport from the governors or the commandants of the posts. I have informed some of the chiefs who have been at this post how displeased the Governor would be, as well as the entire Spanish nation, if they should commit any excesses of this sort, which would be to risk losing the friendship of those who had so well maintained it; and, in short, I said all that could be said in such a case. I will be vigilant henceforth that no disaster shall occur, and will do all in my power to pacify them. What will Your Lordship think of this people, who recently tried to kill Franchimastabé, the great chief of the main body [of their warriors] being at this fort, telling them that it was he; with Ytelaghaua and Zaganchouma, who had in earlier days ceded their lands to the Americans, and that from this he [*word uncertain*] that the latter were coming to take possession of their lands, which the Indians say they will never permit. They say, moreover, that some chiefs among those of their tribe who have gone to Natches are receiving some gratuity for permitting the [boundary] lines to be drawn, and that they will make a sacrifice of the man who shall consent to such a thing. By this Your Lordship will see how perverse this tribe is, and this is the reason which has decided me to send this post, in order that you and the Governor may be informed or what is going on in this tribe, and that Your Lordship may take precautions and inform the Governor of what occurs. May God guard Your Lordship for many years. [Fort] Confederación, October 22, 1796." "Postscript: The messenger is not paid, and I trust that Your Lordship will reward him, as in this post we are short of funds.

"JUAN DE LA VILLEBEUVRE."

Addressed: "To Señor Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos."

He adds in his private letter that those Indians are so greatly exasperated against the Americans that when the time comes for laying out the boundary line it is certain that, if they do not kill the Americans, they will at least steal whatever horses and other things they find from the expedition. He says that the said Indians asked him for what reason the Spaniards should go with the Americans to draw the line, and that when he answered that it was to give them our support, in view of the friendly feeling that prevailed on both sides, they replied that it seemed to them very wrong — saying that we were the ones who were giving up their lands, but that they would defend these, having before them the example of what the Americans had done with various tribes. The writer considers it a very difficult thing to pacify the Indians. In view of what Don Juan de la Villebeuvre has communicated to Your Lordship, and of the statements that he now makes, Your Lordship will make such arrangements as you think best. Nevertheless, I take the liberty of reminding Your Lordship that it would be expedient to inform the chiefs who are there regarding the state of mind of their warriors, in case they see the chiefs return laden with presents, and that it is therefore expedient that they bring back none of these. May God guard your Lordship for many years. Natches, November 14, 1796.

MANUEL GAYOSO DE LEMOS.

Addressed: "To the Señor Baron de Carondelet."

BARON DE CARONDELET.

LXXXVIII

GENERAL CENSUS OF 1796

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

Resumé of the general list of the western settlements of Yllinois, with note of the births, marriages, and deaths; and animals and products of this present year, 1796.

Names of the Villages	Whites						Free Mulattoes						Free Negroes					
	Men			Women			Men			Women			Men			Women		
	First age	Second age	Third age	First age	Second age	Third age	First age	Second age	Third age	First age	Second age	Third age	First age	Second age	Third age	First age	Second age	Third age
San Luis	114	241	35	113	130	18	10	6		6	10	2		1			5	2
Carondelet	44	48	10	37	32	7												
San Carlos	73	127	37	65	76	10												
San Fernando	27	68	12	27	39	5												
Santa Genoveva	145	168	19	67	120	3	2	2		3	1		1		1	1	16	15
Nueva Bourbon	71	87	9	38	59	2	2	2		2							1	1
Marais des Liards[1]	31	33	5	22	19	3												
Habitations of Maramec	10	24		8	13	2												
Totals	515	796	127	377	488	50	14	10		11	11	2	1	1	1	1	22	18

---

[1] Cottonwood Swamp.

Names of the Villages	Mulatto Slaves						Negro Slaves						Total Number of persons in each village	Marriages	Births	Deaths
	Men			Women			Men			Women						
	First age	Second age	Third age	First age	Second age	Third age	First age	Second age	Third age	First age	Second age	Third age				
San Luis	19	18		24	22	2	23	58	19	21	68	8	975	15	55	26
Carondelet									1		1	1	181			
San Carlos	5	1				1	2	3			4	1	405	6	25	14
San Fernando								2			3	2	185		6	5
Santa Genoveva	16	15	1	10	4	12	29	29	20	34	33	6	773	6	50	29
Nueva Bourbon	8	6		7	3	6	14	22	8	16	16	3	383			
Marais des Liards							2	6		2	1		124			
Habitations of Maramec													57			
Totals	48	40	1	41	29	21	70	120	48	73	126	21	3083	27	136	74

PRODUCTIONS

Names of the Villages	Wheat Minots	Corn Minots	Tobacco Pounds	Salt Minots	Lead Pounds	Cattle	Horses
San Luis	3,530	7,850	540			1,098	168
Carondelet	2,155	2,948	4,200			209	25
San Carlos	9,600	6,655	4,800			448	87
San Fernando	6,120	6,555	10,760			316	33
Santa Genoveva	10,185	34,645	600	800	165,000	1,045	208
Nueva Bourbon	3,400	11,545			54,000	513	69
Marais des Liards	75	4,320	3,350			180	22
Habitations of Maramec		900	500			54	6
Totals	35,065	75,418	24,750	1,450[1]	219,000	3,863	618

---

[1] *Sic* in transcript.

LXXXIX

SCHEME TO FOUND A STATE ON THE MISSISSIPPI NORTH OF THE MISSOURI

General Archives of the Indies, Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

Propositions which are presented to the consideration of the United States for the establishment of a settlement on the west shore of the Misisipi, north of the Misury River.[1]

The most advantageous situation for building and locating a city whether with reference to trade or for agriculture, is near or at the very confluence of the Misisipi and Misury rivers. Its interior location or central location between the mountain chain which divides the seas of the west from the Atlantic, the easy communication by water, with the great lakes of the north, the number of large navigable rivers which empty into the Misury in different directions and into the upper part of the Misisipi after having drained a vast extent of country, which has no equal in the fertility of its territory, a climate favorable to the human constitution, and the ease with which under the cultivating hand of industry, it could send its varied and numerous products to all parts of the globe, would quickly attract a population, and open springs of wealth hitherto unknown in all parts of the world.

In order to effect the settlement in the above-mentioned region, it is proposed to march thither from this side of the Aleganis Mountains with eighteen thousand men in perfect condition of performing military service, furnished with the food and supplies that an undertaking of this nature requires. For the expenses that must necessarily be incurred, there is needed a fund of three million pesos. One part of that sum will be raised in the following manner:

---

[1] This prospectus of an Utopian scheme (without date) was found among the Spanish Archives, and no doubt was extensively circulated in the United States. All recollection of it has long since passed away, but buried deep in the Spanish Archives Señor Verger found it, and brought it to light. It should be noted, that the Spanish claim on the country north of the Missouri at first was not so pronounced as it became afterwards. This visionary plan may have caused greater efforts on the part of Spanish officials to assert the Spanish claim. It no doubt led to the establishment of Portage des Sioux. It should be noted that this is only one of many land schemes that originated among the restless Americans.

Entries will be made in a book intended for the purpose of those persons who will advance money for the undertaking with mention of their name, the place of their residence, and of the sum that they advance. They will be given a receipt for it, in which will be specified the use that is to be made of it, and the amount of land that is to be received in return for it.

Whoever advances ten pesos will receive 500 acres of good land. Those who advance 50 pesos will receive a site in the city which it is proposed to build, and 2,500 acres of land; and so on, in proportion to the amounts that they advance. The money will be deposited with a trustworthy person or in the bank of the United States, until the number of citizens proposed is complete.

Every man who supplies money and becomes a citizen either through himself, or through an intermediary who represents him, within the term of two years after the first contingent of citizens shall arrive at the destined location, shall receive as an increase for each ten pesos that he advances, two hundred and fifty acres of land. Each head of a family who emigrates and settles there shall receive 300 acres for himself and 50 for each of his children between the ages of ten and sixteen; and 120 acres for each of his children between the ages of 16 and 20.

Every male who shall have reached the age of 20 shall be entitled to 200 acres. If he shall marry within the period of the first year after he has begun to be a citizen of this new state [*respublica*], he shall receive the increase of 60 acres. These concessions shall be continued under the conditions mentioned below until the number of one hundred and fifty thousand effective, capable, and robust men between the ages of sixteen and fifty is reached. That number shall be extended farther under the conditions laid down by the legislature of this proposed new state.

The intention is, if a sufficient sum of money can be obtained, or if its payment is assured, that the first contingent of people shall move if possible at the beginning of next September. In this first contingent none except those of industrious habits and the most energetic shall be admitted. Great attention will be paid to age and character.

Those who advance money shall receive the best security by the respective portion of land. In accordance with the nature and exigency of the case, each individual of the first contingent of citizens shall be bound by a solemn oath to keep this contract inviolably, and no male above the age of 16 shall be entitled to citizenship or to receive any lands until he shall have taken the most solemn pledges not to contravene it either directly or indirectly. There shall be an obligation to establish these measures by an act of legislature as soon as the intended district shall be reached.

In order that the persons who advance money for the achievement of the proposed enterprise may get back all possible profit, after their settlement in the vicinity of the city which is to be erected at the time when the number of its inhabitants shall become sufficiently effective, shall be assigned the lands in their turn with reference to the fact as to whether it is allowable to its position and quality. That will increase the value of the land greatly, and more and more as time goes on in proportion to the increase of the inhabitants.

It is understood that the persons who shall emigrate to the state under discussion and who shall be entitled to the lands in accordance with the preceding propositions, shall pay into the treasury ten pesos in cash with its interest within the space of three years after they shall have received the fast and firm concession of the three hundred acres to which each one is entitled; and a proportional sum for any less amount of land. Of that sum the fourth part shall be withdrawn and distributed equally among the first venturers. The sites which remain in the proposed city, after those who shall have been entitled to them shall have received theirs, and after those destined for public uses shall have been set aside, shall be sold for the benefit of the first undertakers, and the number of sites should be that convenient to the public utility.

In order to promote this project uniformly, it is proposed that five hundred acres shall be reserved in each of the first towns, or the amount that shall be determined afterward by the legislature of the new state for the foundation of a university or public seminary when the number of acres amount to thirty thousand. In each town also five hundred acres shall be reserved for a public school, and three hundred for the first head of each school, and two hundred more shall be reserved for the one who shall succeed him.

The necessary expenses which shall be incurred in pledging citizens shall be met from the general fund, and each man of the first contingent shall receive five hundred acres of land, ten of which shall be located in the vicinity of the proposed city, if he shall be eligible to it, one hundred acres near the ground plots of the city, and a contract shall be made as to the rest, or it shall be decided by the legislature.

My object embraces not only the civilization of the Indians who inhabit the shores of the Misury River and the more remote tribes, but also their incorporation into the Republican Government which it is intended to establish. Therefore, I propose that a very considerable proportion of the citizens who shall pledge themselves to this important expatriation, be single.

This is the general plan which is given to the public. It admits of an extensive amplification and offers an unlimited field to the working of the imagination, although at present it is improper to communicate it even if it were possible.

If the proposed settlement is realized, it will illumine and extend the liberty and happiness of millions of individuals. It will open an extensive field to investigation, and will extend the benign influences of the Christian religion and will produce the greatest possible blessings in favor of the human race.

XC

THE SPANISH COMMERCIAL EXPLORATION COMPANY —ORGANIZED BY ST. LOUIS MERCHANTS—1794

General Archives of the Indies, Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

Rules for the corporation proposed to the Board of Trade [*Commercio*] of San Luis for the formation of a Company for the Exploration of the Country West of the Misuri, on the 5th of May, 1794. Accepted and inaugurated by a number of merchants on the 12th of the same month and year, and approved by the general Government, July 18, following.

Petition to Trudeau:]

To Don Zenón Trudeau, Captain of the Regular Infantry Regiment of Luisiana, Lieutenant-Governor and Commandant-in-chief of the western part of Ilinois.

The Attorney-General [*sindico*] of the Board of Trade [*commercio*] of this jurisdiction, desiring that each one of its members may give expression to [*resentir*] the advantages which trade with the Indian tribes of the Misury can procure, has the honor of stating to Your Grace that, having petitioned, with the protection and consent of Your Grace, from the Baron de Carondelet permission to form an exclusive Company for trading with all the tribes that are found farther up than the Poncás, in the hope of being able to open from this time a department of trade both important to industry and local necessity, the Attorney-General finds it necessary to have recourse provisionally to the kindness of Your Grace, asking that you may be pleased to permit until the arrival of the decision of the Governor-General the convocation of all the merchants for the purpose of learning the particular opinion of each one, and taking the measures suitable for so vast an undertaking. San Luis, April 5, 1794.

CLAMORGAN.[1]

---

[1] Jacques Clamorgan, came to St. Louis at an early day, about 1780. It is supposed that he was a native of one of the West India Islands and of Welch descent. I have seen the name spelled Clanmorgan. Nothing is known of his life prior to his advent in St. Louis. In that city he was engaged quite exten-

Permit:]

The Attorney-General is permitted to assemble the merchants today at nine o'clock in the morning in the Assembly Hall of the Government. San Luis, May 5, 1794. ZENÓN TRUDEAU.

Articles:]

It was resolved unanimously at the meeting held in the Government Assembly Hall, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four, on the fifth day of the month of May by virtue of the permission granted by the Lieutenant-Governor to convoke them embers of the Board of Trade, these hoping that the Governor-General will grant the permission requested for the formation of an exclusive

sively in Indian trade, at one time being in partnership with Regis Loisel. He also had business relations with Pierre Lacoste, at Michillimakinac, who on settlement agreed to pay him 15,947 livres and 14 sols in money there, but failed to do so, whereupon Clamorgan brought suit against him in the Cahokia court in 1787. In 1784 he bought property from Joseph Mainville, dit Deschenes in St. Louis, and from others, these being his earliest business transactions recorded in the St. Louis Archives, although in 1783 he received a power of attorney from Gabriel Cerré. The Spanish Commercial Company it seems was mainly promoted by him, and he gave much of his time to this enterprise, and perhaps also lost much money in it. As director of this company he formed a coalition with Andrew Todd to control the trade of the upper Mississippi and Missouri rivers. In some way he did not manage the affairs of the company to satisfy the stockholders and Joseph Robidoux filed a complaint against him, in which he gives a very unfavorable sketch of his character. He says that, at the time he was selected as manager of the company, his business affairs were "in the greatest disorder," that his "probity was suspected," that he had an "intriguing" disposition, "a fluent tongue," and was "pliant and even servile when it was politic to deceive and exalt himself." All of this was charged against him and more, in order to secure an order to reorganize the company, but in vain; but these charges have cast a cloud upon his character as a business man. In 1797 his lands and the lands of his partner Loisel were levied upon at the suit of Dan Clark of New Orleans, but afterwards the matter was settled and Clamorgan appointed the attorney of Clark in upper Louisiana. In 1796 Trudeau granted him 8,000 arpents on the Maramec; in the same year Delassus, who was then Commandant at New Madrid, granted him 136,000 arpents in what is now Northeast Arkansas to establish a Canadian Colony and raise hemp, and in 1797 Trudeau granted him 500,000 arpents between the Dardenne, then called the Charette, and the Cuivre. In addition he claimed large tracts of land by purchase from other grantees and lots in St. Louis. His total claims amounting to about 1,000,000 arpents, but these vast claims were rejected. In a memorial presented to Congress in 1818 his services in exploring a path to the Pacific are referred to and it is said, that Lewis and Clark live "in the recollection of this grand event," but that "their precursor in the path of peril, but not of renown, was Don James Clamorgan." After the purchase of Louisiana, Clamorgan remained in St. Louis for a time, and served as one of the first judges of the St. Louis Court of Common Pleas in 1805. In 1808 it is said that he went to Mexico. He never married. When and where he died I have not been able to ascertain. From this document it appears that he acted as "sindico"—translated as "attorney-general"—for the merchants of St. Louis. But by "attorney-general" we must not understand that he was a lawyer or attorney in our acceptation of the term.

Company for the trade or commerce which may, now or in the future, be had with the tribes who live farther up than the Poncas, who are located on the upper part of the Misuri and in other places in which trade may be carried on, that, in order to begin the formation of the above-mentioned Company [already] provisionally created, (except that all contrary matters [in the provisional company] shall be amended), until the arrival of the approval of the Governor-General, for the Director to despatch traders beforehand to the distant tribes, from the general funds of those who should become incorporated in the above-mentioned Company.

In consequence of that, Messrs. Reihle, Papín, Yosty, Motard, Sanguinet, Benito Vasquez, Bernardo Sarpy, Cerre, Roy, Saint Cyrete, Conte, Endrevil, Vincent, La Fleur, Dubreuil, V. Marie, Labadie, Chouteau, Sr., Robidon, Chauvin, Collell, Duroché, La Vallée, La Goye, Chouteau, Jr., Gratiot, De l'Or Sarpy, Clamorgan, all members of the Board of Trade, being present and represented by virtue of the edict made by our Lieutenant-Governor at the last Assembly held on the third of the present month, citing them to appear in person or by their proxies — which was renewed on the said day [i. e., May 5] with each one in particular by the Attorney-General of the body, so that no one might allege the pretext of ignorance: — the Attorney-General explained about this Company, and submitted to the opinion of each one of those present the following articles, so that, by a plurality of the votes of the members of the Company, what appeared to be important to the Board of Trade in general and to its individual members in particular, might be accepted or expunged.

ARTICLE 1. The conditions, rules, statutes, and wishes of the general Government for the exclusive handling of the trade, petitioned for ten years, shall be incident to the present articles of incorporation, for which they shall serve as the base and foundation.

ARTICLE 2. As soon as all the members of the Commercial Company are assembled, one Director and one Substitute shall be appointed by a plurality of the votes of those present. They shall be chosen, necessarily, from among those members, in order that they may take charge of the interests of the said Company. The duties of both men shall begin May first, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five, and shall last three whole consecutive years beside the present year, which is no more than provisional.

ARTICLE 3. The Directors and Substitutes appointed for the duties of the present year shall continue for the first three years, begining with the first of next May.

ARTICLE 4. Every three years at the same time, a new Director and a new Substitute shall be appointed, or the same ones shall be continued in the management of the interests of the Association. That shall be determined by a plurality of votes in the Assembly which shall be convoked.

ARTICLE 5. If the Director shall be replaced [before the completion of his term], the Substitute, whom he shall have had during his term, shall succeed him; and at that time no other than the Substitute necessary for the new Director shall be elected.

ARTICLE 6. It shall be the duty of the Director to arrange for the necessary expeditions and to receive the returns. He shall keep an open account of those returns for the liquidation of the interests of each member. The expeditions of this town shall be made annually in April, at the latest, unless that is prevented by the greatest obstacle.

ARTICLE 7. In case of the absence, sickness, or death of the Director, the Substitute shall perform his duties *ad interim*. In that case a member of the Board of Trade shall be appointed who shall also fill the place of the Substitute.

ARTICLE 8. The Substitute shall not be allowed to refuse his services to the Director in the occupations that concern the interests of the Company. Should he do the contrary, the individuals of this Company shall appoint another Substitute in his place when the refusal is investigated at a meeting for which the fitting notification must have preceded.

ARTICLE 9. Every member incorporated in the Company shall be required to supply his share in merchandise in accordance with the written notification which the Director shall hand him. The Director shall make a careful and detailed statement of each article in the account of the one supplying it, in order to enter it in the general fund.

ARTICLE 10. Each member shall have the right in his turn to supply the Association through the Director with his share of rowers, for the despatch of the expedition, which that Director shall make, if he is careful to give him advice thereof at least a fortnight before the departure of the pirogues; for in any other way, the Director must not pay any attention to it.

ARTICLE 11. He who shall wish to resign his membership in the Association, may do so by refusing, in writing, to supply his share, without the need of any other formality; although it will be the duty of the Director to inform the members of the Company, which will make a record thereof in the presence of the Lieutenant-Governor.

ARTICLE 12. Under no consideration can the members of this Company be allowed to refuse to supply their share, quota, or portion, during the first three years, under penalty of being deprived of their membership [in the Company]. That deprivation shall be ratified in a meeting of the Company which shall be called by the Director.

ARTICLE 13. If it should happen that any of the members of the Company should refuse, during the second or third year, to supply the share which he should owe, or ought to supply, he shall not therefore be deprived of the return which belongs to him, for the share which he shall have contributed before.

ARTICLE 14. Every member incorporated [in the Company] may demand at will permission to inspect the employment of his goods, the expeditions, and the returns, whenever he thinks it suitable. The Director shall not refuse such inspection, in order to justify his administration.

ARTICLE 15. The Directors and Substitutes shall take the means which they believe advisable for the future prosperity of the Company. They may make stations [deposits], take salaried clerks, or other persons, or means useful and necessary for the passage or despatch to the districts possible on the upper Misuri for the discovery of unknown tribes, either to the north of the said river or to the south, and in any distance at all for the formation in the future of a fur-trade with the most remote tribes.

ARTICLE 16. In the face of casualities which may happen on account of the preceding article in the fruitless explorations, it is established that every member incorporated in the Company at present shall supply and give bonds of one thousand pesos to cover the trifling and burdensome expenses which might result from the various expeditions which shall be made without other success than that of discovering tribes, and to reach which it shall have caused great expense, both in presents, which it shall be necessary to make them, in order to get their good-will, and in opening up communications with even the more distant tribes.

ARTICLE 17. In consideration of the preceding article, the signers shall sign as interested and incorporated members in the said Company, and after their signatures shall place the name of those for whom they shall be bondsmen, expressing such and such an one bondsman of such and such an one.

Then all their goods of the present and future shall be especially reserved and as pledges for the security of said bond.

ARTICLE 18. The lack of bonds shall essentially prevent incorporation [into the Company]. The bonds thus designated shall be recognized as true and valid, and there shall be no need of any other formality.

ARTICLE 19. If it should happen during the space of ten years for which the present Association or Company for the discovery and exclusive trade of the upper Misuri must last, as was previously stated in Article 15, that any of its members wish to resign, he cannot do it directly or indirectly in favor of any person; but his portion must revert to the Company in general.

ARTICLE 20. In case of the absence of one of the members because of business or because of sickness, he shall appoint a proxy to represent him, so that the absent one may always be considered and reputed a resident and proprietary citizen and of the jurisdiction of San Luis.

ARTICLE 21. When the first three years, which shall only begin to run from the first of next May, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five, have expired, the lack of representation in the meetings or the lack of share or quota in the expeditions, shall cause a tacit resignation from incorporation in the Company; but it shall [not?] deprive the person of the benefit that he should have been able to have or to obtain for his share, both in the meetings and in the remittances of money which shall be made during his absence in behalf of the Company, without prejudice to what is stated above in Article 12.

ARTICLE 22. In the explanation of Article 21, preceding, it must be understood that the meetings of the Company, that are [specially] called, shall not prejudice the claims of absent members, who have been previously recognized as associated in the Company.

ARTICLE 23. On the arrival at San Luis of furs, as return for the goods despatched by the Directors at the account of the Company, immediate division shall be made to each one of the members, in proportion to the shares or portions of each one, after having paid the expenses which were incurred before the division.

ARTICLE 24. Although it is not to be understood by the preceding article that any of the members has the right to contribute more funds than another in the general sum in the expeditions which shall be made by the Director at the account of the Company, nevertheless, the amounts contributed may be less by half, and in no other way, in order that it may be continued so and be proportional to the wealth of each one interested. And then, and henceforth, the Directors shall pay or divide the excess to the account of the Company in general.

ARTICLE 25. In case of the death of one of the members, his heir shall enjoy the same rights, prerogatives, and advantages as the deceased, as soon as he shall present himself to the Directors in order to make himself known, either by power of attorney, or by means of his guardians or custodians. This shall not be considered as done until the Director shall have given his signature in order that it may so appear. The Director shall not be able to evade it or refuse it, when he who petitions or makes the representation shall have any grounds for it.

ARTICLE 26. The Company shall not be able to be dissolved even by a plurality of votes; nor shall the exclusive privileges which it has petitioned from the general Government for the regulation of the trade of the Misury, accepted on the 15th of October of last year with the addition of the notes of the body of the Board of Trade, be changed or diminished because from that time the advantage of this Board of Trade [*Comercio*] to each one of its members was unanimously recognized; as was the fact that if it should ever happen that a contrary opinion should be presented either at the present or in the future it would be for no other reason than because of intriguing spirits who were attempting for particular ends by secret means to combat the general opinion, in order to procure its ruin.

ARTICLE 27. Notwithstanding Article 11, which states the liberty of resigning one's membership in the Company whenever that may be judged suitable, the bond given by him who shall retire, shall remain during the administration of the Director in whose time the resignation shall have been made, and to the end of his term. That term must run for three years, and the bond shall be freed from fees, but without any prejudice to the capital which shall belong to each retired proprietor, if at the time of the division, it shall have been owed him or belonged to him.

ARTICLE 28. Resignation from the Company shall be made without any return to the Director. The latter shall give information thereof at the first meeting which shall be held, according to Article 11, at any time in the existence of the Company.

Article 29. The Director shall keep an exact register of all the meetings relative to the Company, which shall contain the results of the deliberations which, in time and place, must serve as a rule and regulation.

Article 30. He shall also keep the book of his operations, according to the rules of the Board of Trade, in order that he may carry the accounts of his Company. In that book each person interested and each one employed in its service shall have an open account of the receipts and disbursements of his exclusive property.

Article 31. Accounts shall be kept of the goods sent to the Misury for traffic among the tribes discovered and those accounts shall be balanced with the returns.

Article 32. An account of every kind of fur which is brought shall also be opened, so that it might be known at any instant what is the condition of the receipts for each kind [of fur] at the account of the Company.

Article 33. The agent sent to the tribes of our exclusive trade shall also send annually to the Director the report of the goods remaining to be sold, in the manner that may be possible; and every three years he shall be absolutely obliged to send a detailed account of everything under his direction and management, sending in the furs so that the Director may adjust his accounts and render them to the Company, before the nomination of his successor.

Article 34. Each Director, at the end of his administration, shall strike the balance of all the business which shall have been done by the Company, and shall give a succinct resumé to every one of the members who shall demand it and, especially, to his successor.

Article 35. The registers, although made at the expense of the Company, shall remain in possession of the administrators, who shall have made and kept them. The latter shall always be obliged to show them whenever necessary to illustrate the future by the past.

Article 36. The Directors and Substitutes shall make no expedition until every one of those interested in the company shall have furnished, and placed in the hands of the Directors of the Company, with date and signature, the report of the goods supplied, in the following manner: The Company of the Misury owes to N. "—all on one sheet of paper."

Article 37. A special rule shall be made by the Directors and Substitutes for the treatment and support of the rowers when the latter leave here to go upon their voyage and during their stay among the tribes, so that the report of expenses may approximate to that which the English have in their trade in the North, in order that an equality of expenses may be preserved with them.

Article 38. Another rule shall also be made for the subordination of each trapper or rower to his leader, superior, chief, or any other person entrusted with the leadership and command, in regard to what concerns the interests of the Company.

Article 39. Any person who shall be in the employ of the Company and shall commit fraud or shall wilfully cause any damage or injury during his voyages, or in any other manner, shall lose his wages or salary when the offense has been proven, without detriment to the restoration or compensation of the value of the thing. If the injury is the result of his negligence, he shall not lose his wages or salary, but shall repair the loss or damage which he shall have occasioned.

Article 40. The leaders, chiefs, or superiors, who shall pillage or allow the pillaging of stations during their voyages, belonging to whites or Indians, shall lose their wages, or salaries, just as do the rowers or trappers who shall have committed the offense, and they shall further be obliged to make restitution up to the value of the theft. He who shall declare, on their arrival here, such a deed, shall receive the wages or salary of him who shall have committed the theft or done the damage.

Article 41. The Directors of the Company shall receive two per cent commission on the whole sum or general capital of the operations of receipts and expenditures which shall pass through their hands on the account of the Company, so that they may be recompensed for their troubles and the continual cares which they shall be obliged to employ. This right may not be taken away from those who shall exercise this duty.

Article 42. In accordance with Article 5 of the regulations for the traffic of the Misury, proposed by His Lordship, July 20, 1793, onesh are shall belong to our Lieutenant-Governor in the formation of the present Company, if it is fitting for him to take it.

Article 43. The passports which must be asked from the Government, for the different expeditions which shall be made shall be placed at the foot of the invoices of their goods, and shall be certified by the Director without their being for any reason subject to the different precautions taken beforehand for the plan of trade of the Misury proposed by His Lordship, as above said, July 20, 1793.

ARTICLE 44. The same thing shall be true of every kind of trouble or obstacle mentioned by said rules of commerce, especially, in Articles 10, 12, 13, 16, 17, and 19, with the exception of the present reservations of Articles 7 and 9 of the above-mentioned rules, which alone shall have place in the present Company, in consideration of the fact that the renunciation of the other articles follows by right, by the reunion of the body of commerce which is formed at present into one single corporation, one single individual, and one single interest, composed of many heads which have no other consideration than the said means, the said recourse, and the said advantages under the special administration of one of the members of the Board of Trade acting for the members in general.

ARTICLE 45. The Directors must convoke the members of the Company whenever they judge it necessary for their interests, after having obtained the consent of the Lieutenant-Governor of these settlements.

Adjournment:]

After each member of the meeting had been instructed concerning the articles proposed by the Attorney-General of the Board of Trade, it was resolved and determined that the meeting should be adjourned until the Monday following, on the twelfth of the present month, so that each article might be reflected over maturely, thus facilitating to the body of the Board of Trade the approbation or disapprobation of whatever might be to the general interests. Thereupon this action which took place before the Lieutenant-Governor, Don Zenón Trudeau, May five, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four, was concluded at two o'clock in the afternoon.

SANTIAGO CLAMORGAN.
ZENÓN TRUDEAU.

Articles of Incorporation approved:]

In the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four, on the twelfth of the present month, after a discourse pronounced and directed to the body of the present Board of Trade by the Attorney-General in regard to the validity of the claims of each one of the members of the town of San Luis who compose that Board, the session was opened with the deliberations of the fifth of the present month, in order to again state to the individuals of the Company newly convoked and assembled the articles proposed by the Attorney-General for the formation of a Company.

In consequence, it was unanimously resolved and decided that all and each of the preceding articles to the number of forty-five should be allowed and executed in all points and should serve as the articles of incorporation for the Commercial Company of the Misuri, for trade with the Indian tribes farther up than the Poncas. Those articles cannot be altered or added to without the consent of the majority of the Association. Therefore, supplication was made to the Lieutenant-Governor to procure the sanction of the whole by the approval of the Governor-General, being pleased, meanwhile, to lend hand to the execution of each one of the articles which are contained in the articles of incorporation. Petition is made to have it passed to vote so that by a plurality of the votes, a Director and Substitute may be elected, both of them being chosen from the body of the Association that was formed and created on this day, and which was composed of Messrs. Durochés [*sic*], Reylhe, Robidon, Saint Grasse, Sanguinet, Dubreuill, Motard, Benito Vazquez, and Clamorgan. Those are the only gentlemen of the Board of Trade who have wished to try and risk their fortune in an undertaking of so much cost and danger for the discovery of the remote tribes. All the other members of the Board of Trade who are present have duly represented at the moment of the conclusion and formally declared that they have no remarks to make in regard to the resolution taken upon the matter thus renouncing incorporation in the Company for the Exploration of the Misury. A record was made of it by our Lieutenant-Governor in the presence of all the incorporated members of the Board of Trade, in order to certify the validity and legality of the resolutions of each one of the members who have signed, all in accordance with the intention of Article 17. So that everything may be executed according to these articles except whatever may be contrary, the Governor-General is petitioned to prohibit all other associations, companies, or private persons, from being able to claim any right to injure or harm the present Company in the trade which it is endeavoring to attract to this place in order to extend that trade to the capital [i. e., Nueva Orleans]. Having been made and passed in the Government Assembly Hall in the town of San Luis on May twelfth, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four, it was signed by those interested in the Company with the individual Attorney-General of the Company before the Lieutenant-Governor, with the exception of Jacinto Saint Grasse, who had his wife sign, as was his custom.

Reyhle.[2]
A. Reyhle, bondsman for Dubreuil.

Motard,[3]
Bondsman for Durocher.

Durocher,[4]
Bondsman for Clamorgan.

Benito Vasquez,[5]
Benito Vazquez, bondsman for Saint Grasse.

Joseph Robidou [*sic*].[6]
Robidou, bondsman for Sanguinet.

Sanguinet,[7]
Bondsman for Robidou.

Helena Saint Grasse,
Bondsman for Benito Vazquez.

Dubreuil.[8]
Dubre[u]il, bondsman for Reyhle.

Clamorgan.
Clamorgan, bondsman for Motard.

Zenón Trudeau.

---

[2] Antoine Reihle, from Trois Rivières, Canada, in 1783 was one of the partners in a general store at Michillimackinac. From there he came to St. Louis. In 1786 he appeared before the Cahokia Court urging settlement of a claim of Mrs. Camp, against Samuel Todd, a Canadian merchant. He married Stella Camp, daughter of Rev. Ichabod Camp, who had been killed by his son-in-law, Guion, at Kaskaskia, after which the widow of the murdered man moved to St. Louis. Here she received several large grants of land, some of which is within the present Forest Park. "Camp Springs," a well-known resort in the early days of St. Louis was located on her land. Trudeau granted Reihle land adjacent to land of Mrs. Camp. The latter died in 1802 at the age of 67 in St. Louis, leaving two daughters and a son. One of his daughters married Alexander McNair, first governor of Missouri.

[3] Joseph Motard came from Avignon, France. He resided in St. Louis as early as 1776 and built a windmill there. He was a merchant, a bachelor, and boarded for a time with Mr. Regis Loisel. Finally in 1802 he and Loisel got into trouble about the amount of the board bill and De Lassus referred the matter for settlement to Herbert Lecompte, Manuel Gonsales Moro and Charles Sanguinet for arbitration, "according to their souls and consciences" and they with one accord "on our (their) souls and conscience" found for Loisel and ordered Motard to pay him $134. Shortly after this Motard died at the age of 80.

[4] Laurent Durocher.

[5] See vol. i, page 54, note 3.

Petition:]

To Baron de Carondelet, Governor and Intendant-General of the provinces of Luisiana and West Florida.

The director of the Commercial Company for the upper part of the Misury, has the honor to inform Your Lordship that a number of the members of the Board of Trade of this town have not become incorporated in the Association for exploration, because some of them fear to incur heavy expense without any result, and others with the intention of harming, if they can, in the future, the enterprise of those who today compose the Association, and whom the zeal for industry causes to risk cheerfully the dangers of a most costly enterprise and perhaps one very fruitless in its beginning. The general funds of the Commercial Company, in whose name the Director has the honor of addressing to Your Lordship this request, rated at a capital of fifty thousand pounds of authorized bonds, respectively, which will, perhaps, be consumed in expenses like the capital of the first expedition which amounted to about forty thousand pounds, demand that the Company implore your kindness for the grant and consent of its petition, and the conclusions set forth in the record of the Articles of Incorporation of this day, in order that said Company may not, in the future, be exposed after considerable hardship and expense, to lose and destroy the credit to which many of the members of the Company will be obliged to have recourse in order to support themselves and continue this famous enterprise, for the length of time feared, because of the immense expense which must be incurred during the first years without other hope than that of a very distant prosperity. Therefore, the members of the Company that has been formed, being on the eve of adventuring everything for the discovery of distant and unknown tribes, after Your Lordship

[6] The Robidoux family came from Montreal, where Joseph Robidoux (1) was born in 1720. He was a shoemaker and came to St. Louis about 1770 with his son Joseph (2). In St. Louis, Joseph (1) died Septemper 13, 1771. Joseph (2) married Catherine Rollet, dit Laderoute, in 1782 and was long engaged in the fur business. He became a partner in Spanish Commercial company and afterward filed a petition to have the company reorganized, but without success. He died in 1809 at the age of 60 years. His widow married Victor la Goterie and moved away from St Louis. Joseph Robidoux (3) founded St. Joseph. He was born in St. Louis in 1784 and first married a De Lisle and after her death Angelique Vaudry of Cahokia.

[7] Charles Sanguinet, see vol. i, page 196, note 146.

[8] Louis Dubreuil, was a son of Louis Chauvet Dubreuil, a native of Rochelle, France, who came to St. Louis in 1765 and married Susanne Saintous. He died in 1794 leaving nine children. Louis Dubreuil his son was long engaged in the fur-trade in St. Louis. He married Marianne la Roche.

shall have had the goodness to approve and sanction the Articles of Incorporation passed this day before this Lieutenant-Governor with his consent, petition Your Lordship to please to guarantee and preserve for the members of the Company alone the right of exclusive trade for ten consecutive years. That time shall run from May first of next year, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five, and said trade shall extend to all of the tribes who may be found above the tribe of the Poncas. The supplicant, in the name of the members composing the above-mentioned company, will not cease to pray Heaven for the preservation and prosperity of Your Lordship. San Luis, May twelfth, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four. SANTIAGO CLAMORGAN.

Decree:]

Nueva Orleans, July 18, 1794, in consideration of the advantages which result generally to the province and especially to the settlements of Ilinoa from the establishment of the Commercial Company of the Misury, whose Articles of Incorporation and instructions I approve in the terms which appear from the official letters to the Lieutenant-Governor of Ilinoa, Captain Don Zenón Trudeau: I, making use of the powers which His Majesty has conceded to me, approve the exclusive privilege of its trade for ten years as is petitioned. BARON DE CARDONDELET.

Certification of copies:]

I, Don Zenón Trudeau, Captain of the Regiment of Luisiana, Lieutenant-Governor of the western settlement of Ilinoa, attest that the preceding copies are made exactly according to the originals, which are conserved in the archives under my charge, and that they are made in order to send them to the Secretary of the General Government of this province. San Luis, November twenty-nine, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four.

ZENÓN TRUDEAU.

Letter from Trudeau to Baron de Carondelet:]
No. 185.

I send to Your Lordship for Your approbation the Articles of incorporation made by the merchants of San Luis for the discovery of new Indian tribes clear to the source of the Misuri River. That is a corporation in which I have wished to have part in order to induce others to do the same. For I am sure that if trade does not become profitable in the said territory, a country of which various reports are given can at least become well known. An old man who has just come from the Panis tribe where he has been for ten consecutive years, has assured me that he has gone overland with the Patucas[8] tribe to the source of the said Misuri and that a certain distance from it, and he has seen it, is a large river whose current flows toward the west. That will be verified within a few years if Your Lordship will approve the above Company which will exert all its efforts for it. Consequently, I send Your Lordship a petition of the Attorney-General of the said Company. This petition requests the exclusive privilege for ten years of trading with all the new tribes which can be discovered, so that they may indemnify themselves, if possible, for the heavy expenses indispensable on such an expedition, in which not a single person can pledge himself without danger of ruining himself. As I have not seen anything unfitting in the discovery of a territory very far from Nuevo Mexico, not only do I hope for the approbation of Your Lordship in the terms in which the Attorney-General Monsieur Morgan [*sic*] requests it, but the Company has resolved to form its expedition immediately this year, and has done so; for an intelligent man to march with ten others in order to go to establish a station among the Mandan tribe; and to direct all their operations thence. In order to become acquainted with so vast a region, they will take three years for that first voyage. That expedition has caused an expense to the Company of eight thousand pesos, and in the coming year a like expedition will have to march to reinforce the first one, which must send minute reports annually of their discoveries and operations. May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

San Luis, May 31, 1794.

ZENÓN TRUDEAU (rubric).

Addressed: "BARON DE CARONDELET."
[Endorsed: "Approved (rubric)."]

Letters from Carondelet.

First letter:]

I have received the Articles of Incorporation made by the merchants of San Luis in order to discover new Indian tribes clear to the source of the Misuri, as well as the other purposes mentioned in No. 185, and it merits my approbation.

---

[8] Paducahs.

With my decree I am returning to Your Grace the memorial of Don Santiago Clamorgan [*sic*] ceding to the Company the exclusive ten years' privilege that it asks. Your Grace will thank them all most heartily in my name for the zeal with which they are encouraging the public welfare of those settlements. I enjoin Your Grace very particularly to procure the full and exact observance of whatever the said regulation contains and the instructions by making it possible to discover the source of the Misury River, and penetrate even to the South Sea. On the shores of that sea the new settlements of the Russians will be found which have been formed above California. If some sure proof is brought of having penetrated to and of having had communication with those settlements, the discoverer will be rewarded by His Majesty with the sum of two thousand pesos, and special attention will be given to his zeal and merit. An attestation from the Russian commandants will be the most authentic proof that can be produced, said attestation being written in that language. May God our Lord preserve Your Lordship many years. Nueva Orleans, July 12, 1794.

BARON DE CARONDELET (rubric).

Addressed: "Don ZENON TRUDEAU."

Second letter:]

I have received the report of the distribution of the trade privileges [*tretas*] of the Misuri which Your Grace had divided into eighteen parts in order to provide as many other merchants who had not entered the preceding year; and I approve the same as also that Your Grace is managing in a prudent manner dealings with the Ponca tribe in order to keep open the passage of the Commercial Company of the upper Misuri.

May God preserve Your Grace for many years. Nueva Orleans, July 8, 1795.

BARON DE CARONDELET (rubric).

Addressed: "Don Zenon Trudeau."

XCI

INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN BY CLAMORGAN AND RIEHLE APPROVED BY LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR ZENON TRUDEAU TO JEAN BAPTISTE TRUTEAU IN COMMAND OF THE FIRST EXPEDITION OF THE COMPANY

General Archives of the Indies, Seville. — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

Instructions according to the designs of the Company, given to Señor Truteau, who is in charge of the boat destined for the Mandanas Nation, by the Director Don Santiago Clamorgan, concerning those things which he must observe from the moment of his leaving this town, and while he has in his care the interests of the said Company with the nations of the upper Misuri, whither he is going; these instructions must also be followed by him who by some unforeseen accident may succeed him.

1. Señor Truteau on leaving this town shall proceed, with all possible foresight, to his destination, the Mandana Nation on the upper Missouri to make there a settlement or establish an agency for the company.

2. He shall cause to be constructed, upon his arrival among the Mandanas, a hut, thirty feet long and fifteen feet wide, built of logs placed one upon another in English fashion, the corners joined and fitted by a kind of mortise; on the inside he shall have a partition made in order that one part may serve as a storeroom and the other as a lodging.

3. He shall cause to be constructed another building, or hut in the same manner, for his men, opposite the first, with a distance of fifty feet between them. He shall have the doors and the windows of the two huts made exactly opposite each other and only on the sides facing each other, but no opening must be made on any of the other three sides.

4. He shall cause to be constructed a fort, one hundred feet by eighty, which shall be so arranged as to enclose the two huts above mentioned, according to the plan on the margin, on the highest place in the (small) village, and as near as possible to the Misuri, so that the water may be near; he shall do this under the pretext of giving

protection to the women and children in case of an attack. There shall be only one door to enter the enclosure, which shall be opposite the space or yard between the two huts. The stakes of the fort shall project seven feet above the ground, if possible, with strips of wood fastened above by tree-nails: the stakes of the garden shall be only five feet.

5. Señor Truteau shall take with him little trees, fruit seeds or stones, and other seeds in order to have an orchard and garden.

6. The next year Señor Truteau shall cause to be erected a building, fifty feet long, and from 15 to 16 feet wide, in front of the gate of the fort, and it shall be in the interior as is shown in the plan drawn above, taking special care that the whole be solidly built in order that it may last a long time.

7. It shall be the aim of Señor Truteau to keep the Indians in their simplicity of character, giving them counsel and advice only favorable to our commerce, animating them to increase their families and to improve their furs and skins in a suitable manner, well flayed to give them form and renown.

8. He shall fix a very high price on everything, keeping in mind that the prices of the armament are excessive and that without this precaution, the Company would sustain a loss.

9. The price which Señor Truteau shall fix for the Mandana Nation shall always serve as a standard and norm for all other nations, when they come to deal with him; but he shall raise said price for the nations to which he is obliged to send the goods.

10. He shall keep a record of all the knowledge and information possible concerning the separation, distance, and direction of the nations which he may see or of which he may hear, referring to the plan which I deliver to him in order that he may know his whereabouts, and to change or correct the location of the nations and rivers, adding those that are found and not yet on the plan.

11. Going up the Misuri he shall take note of the large rivers streams, which are found on the south or on the north of that one, marking their distance from here to them, or from the Mandana Nation.

12. He shall inform himself concerning the Chionitones[1] who are on the Misuri far above the Mandanas and he shall send someone to gain knowledge of them and to inform himself concerning the rivers which may be found on one and the other side of the Misuri on ascending that stream.

---

[1] Shoshones.

13. He shall inform himself of the distance to the Rocky chains [Mountains] which are located west of the source of the Misuri.

14. He shall attempt to have friendly relations with the Indians who live on the other side of the Rocky [Mountain] Chain, on which there are numerous nations, known under the name Serpientes, [i. e., Snakes] and to find out from them, if they have any knowledge of the Sea of the West (*Mar del Ouest*) and if the waters of the rivers on the other side of the Rocky [Mountain] Chain flow westward.

15. He shall inform himself of the habits and manners of all the nations, their lives, their gods, their customs, their vices, their origin, and their food; and whether these nations are increasing or decreasing in population.

16. He shall try to find out and become acquainted with the friends and enemies which each nation has, taking special care to show them his desire that all of them live in peace; he shall speak to them of the Lord of Life as their guide with this object: in short, he shall establish peace everywhere.

17. He shall strive to ascertain the foibles or propensities of every nation to attract them all of by what may please or flatter them as the case may be.

18. It shall be the duty of Señor Truteau to locate the Pelé nation or Motilones, who are to be found south of the Mandanas, to whom one may go by passing through the territory of the Panis and he shall impress on them the fact, that they will continually have a warehouse where they can trade, reserved for them, in the Mandana nation, in order to establish friendly relations with them.

19. He shall ascertain the distance from the Mandanas to the nearest Spanish settlements which are located south of said Indians.

20. He shall send messages to all the nations whom he may be able to reach, informing them of the motive which directs him, in order that as many Indians as possible might come to trade with him.

21. When he has the opportunity he shall take note of the articles most desired by each nation, that is, bagatelles and things of little value, since it is not desirable to cause them to wish for goods that are dear, and which transportation for a long distance will make still more dear.

22. If he is of the opinion that his information is insufficient to give us a good idea of the cheap articles most salable, he shall send us patterns or samples so that we shall make no mistakes. He shall also instruct us in regard to the favorite colors of each nation, as well as

those that are disagreeable to them, and he shall not fail to inform us if the neighboring nations have the same tastes.

23. At whatever time it may be, if anyone, receiving a salary from this Company, or any other individual shall trade with the nations above the Poncas, Señor Truteau shall confiscate their goods; he shall take their merchandise and furs, and shall immediately instruct the Director, Don Santiago Clamorgan on the first occasion that presents itself; and he shall not be permitted to protect those persons who might be known, for which he alone shall be responsible.

24. The Director, Don Santiago Clamorgan shall be informed by Señor Truteau, of the faults and acts of disobedience of the engaged men, under penalty of being held personally responsible.

25. He shall keep an account of what he furnishes to the enlisted employees, to whom he shall sell, in the territory of the Mandanas and above that of the Poncas, at the same price as he would sell in the same places to the Indians of the Mandanas nation; but below the Poncas he shall sell at fifty per cent above the price of the equipage to said employees, if they may have need of any merchandise, which shall be charged against their salaries, provided that it does not exceed half of what is due them, according to the article below, which shall speak more definitely about the matter.

26. Señor Truteau shall keep a duplicate of the accounts with the employees to whom he may have furnished anything, which he shall send yearly to the Director, Don Santiago Clamorgan, with the boats that may come down the river, in order that he may be able to settle their accounts on their arrival here.

27. He shall also keep a duplicate of his discoveries (explorations) and of everything worth knowing with information as complete as possible.

28. He shall always send the employées who owe least to the regions to be explored on the north, and those who owe most to those on the south and on the west; however, he shall not be authorized by this to advance more than half of the wages of each man, including that which he may have obtained in Saint Louis.

29. If Señor Truteau should happen to die during his administration, in that case Señor Periche [Pierre] Berger shall take charge of the management of affairs according to the same instructions.

30. At the expiration of the three years, the period of the engagement of Señor Truteau, he shall make a careful, detailed report

of all that remains in his possession and belonging to the Company, in order that the Director may present it to the members.

31. If Señor Truteau should be pillaged by the Mahas nations, on his trip on the Misuri, (and the nation does this in order to avenge the damages and injuries which Santiago de la Iglesia and Garan have caused them on going through their village), it shall be his duty to notify promptly the Director, Don Santiago Clamorgan, on the first occasion, in order that he may know the loss of the Company.

32. He shall not advance any merchandise to the employées before arriving in the territory of the Mandanas, and in case that that may not happen this year, because the Mahas or the Poncas may prevent it, and that he is obliged to deal with them, then he shall advance to his employees as much as half of their salaries, including that which was advanced to them in St. Louis by the director, Don Santiago Clamorgan, whose account with them is attached to the back of the engagement which is delivered to Señor Truteau for his guidance.

33. If Señor Truteau is obliged to deal either with the Mahas or the Poncas, he shall traffic only in blue cloth or woolen blankets, saving the rest, if it is possible, in order that when it thaws he may continue his way with several men until he reaches the Mandanas.

34. He shall take there the men whom he may need for his safety, acting according to the manner indicated in the preceding articles, in order to establish among that nation the agencies which we propose.

35. During his voyage or immediately after his arrival at his destination, Señor Truteau shall remove all the obstacles which might oppose the plans of the Company, treating kindly all nations that he may meet, and all those to which he may send an exploring party even to the most remote regions.

36. Before his departure, Señor Truteau shall arrange with the dealer of Mahas, or of Poncas in whatever of these nations he may stay, to send down the river with the remainder of their employees the furs of the Company, which shall bear the mark C D M, with a detailed statement of the quantity and quality of the peltry.

37. If Señor Truteau should be detained by the Ottos, Poncas, or Mahas, he shall send a courier, if it is possible, to Señor Clamorgan in a light canoe which may be able to reach here from the fifth to the tenth of April, 1795, in order to inform us; and if he sees that this man cannot arrive here at the time set forth, he shall not send him, since when he will arrive the boats will be on their way, which we

propose to send the 15th of April of next year at the latest, to the Mandanas subject to [his] orders, in which case, the information that he would bring us would be useless.

38. By means of presents of cloth and blankets Señor Truteau will be able to induce the nation that may detain him to permit him to continue his way to the Mandanas; he will do well to select this means although onerous; but it is proper to make some sacrifice to attain success.

39. Should he have the good fortune to pass without being detained, he shall send to the Company the following year all the furs possible and as soon as possible in order that they may be here by the tenth of June; he shall keep some men with him among the Mandanas and shall send the rest with their bundles to Señor Clamorgan.

40. Señor Truteau shall remember to send to me from the Mandanas, four well scraped skins, very large and well mottled, variegated in colors by the first boat, of a new style altogether, from different nations if it is possible, to send to Spain; two of the skins shall be of ox skins with fringes of porcupine, one of the other two, in the same way, shall be of beaver, and the other, of any other animal except the otter, but all shall be made up in a rare style and new, to announce a different fashion and a more elegant mode than that of the nations whom we meet frequently.

41. By virtue of the passport of Señor Commandante, he, Señor Truteau shall be obliged to stop the trading of Santiago de la Iglesia and of Garan, if they are still there, or anyone else in their place, if they trade or cause trade to be carried on with the Mandana nation, or with any other, even though it be with the whites, who may be encountered there. If the articles which remain in the hands of Santiago de la Iglesia and Garan are useful to the Indian nations in that region, Señor Truteau shall ask for them, so that Señor Clamorgan may give to them in St. Louis the same quantity and quality, or their value in cash with a profit of ten per cent upon the price of the stock in Ylinoa for the Misuri, which shall be arranged or settled on their arrival here, they having a receipt which will show the quantity and quality of the merchandise which they have turned over to Señor Truteau for the Company.

42. Señor Truteau shall keep a daily record of all that may be done for the Company, in which he shall give information of the daily operations: as, an exploring expedition; a treaty with the one or the

other nation; the arrival of strange Indians, works of the establishment; a circumstance which is worth the trouble of being written down; finally everything that may happen to be done and ordered on each day by Señor Truteau for the benefit or detriment of the Company, in daily order. He shall send every year a copy to Señor Clamorgan, and keep the duplicate.

43. He shall bear in mind that there are heavy penalties against those who ship brandy in their boats for the Misuri, and he shall inform Señor Clamorgan if anyone should ever introduce drinks.

44. When Señor Truteau shall be ready to depart for the Mandanas, supposing that he should be stopped by the Poncas or the Mahas or in any other place, he shall ask the traders who may be in any of these nations, for the cheap articles which they have, if they are useful to the Mandanas where he intends to go, provided that we are not obliged to pay them here one hundred and fifty per cent above the price in England; that is in case Señor Truteau believes it to be necessary for the good of the company.

45. Should he have the good fortune to pass the Mahas and the Poncas, without being seen, and should he be obliged to put up for the winter on the way, he shall fortify himself well during the winter in order to be secure from unforeseen enemies.

46. He shall not make use of, nor shall he permit any of his employees to make use of the tin dishes intended for the trade, because this might make less valuable and discredit this line of merchandise.

47. He shall ask all Indians, whom he believes in a position to answer satisfactorily, what kind of minerals there may be in that locality, or in some other, having specimens of each kind sent to us at the first opportunity and keeping a memorandum of the place or locality of every kind of mineral, in order to be able to go there in case of necessity; he shall do likewise in regard to the fruits, and species of the most abundant animals, concerning which he shall inform us.

48. He shall take with him three Spanish banners, for three different nations that he may see; with each banner he shall give a carot of tobacco, the most beautiful of the banners is intended for the chief of the Mandanas, with a medal which the Governor sends him in order that he may make strenuous efforts to establish peace with all neighboring nations and to live in friendship with us.

49. He shall secure for the Company the friendship of the white people who may be among the Mandanas, doing them favors inasmuch as he may be able, without causing harm or damage to the

Company, affecting that these people transact their business with us, if it is agreeable to them; it being our intention to be useful to them, and we also desire that they be useful to us.

50. He shall remember that if the whites who are among the Mandanas purchase some goods from the English for their needs, he ought to persuade them to take from our Company all that with which the English are able to provide them, in order that the preference of the fur-trade may be given us.

51. On his arrival among the Mandanas, he shall proceed to convoke a council of the chiefs, which he shall hold in the name of the Chief of the Spaniards, announcing to them that the latter sends them a banner of his nation, and a medal which bears the likeness of His Majesty, the great Chief of all the Spaniards, protector and friend of all red men, who loves the beautiful lands, free roads, and a serene sky, he shall tell them that the banner which they receive is the symbol of an alliance and of the most sincere friendship which he is able to give to the Mandana nation, and that the medal ought to be the symbol of an eternal memory, that the chief of the Mandanas ought to believe in the sincerity of the Chief of the Spaniards; finally, that the sons of the Mandana chief are also the sons of the Chief of the Spaniards, that he will ever protect them from all those who may wish to harm or injure them.

52. He shall invite the white people who are among the Mandanas to be present at the council in order to give more weight and solidity to the motives of the convocation, and each one shall cement the peace and friendship respectively (the chief of the Mandanas being at the front), with the calumet of peace.

53. Señor Truteau declares by these presents to accept and to find agreeable these instructions given by Señor Clamorgan, which are conformable to the wishes of the Company, to put them in observance and execution at all times, unless by contrary orders from him, or from any other person representing him, he nevertheless being free to act alone in an unforeseen case, in a manner which shall be the most advantageous for the Company, for the interests of which he is held accountable by the charge and direction which has been entrusted to him, but he shall not ignore the aforementioned articles to the numbers of fifty-three and this one included, being likewise most essentially obliged to execute every new order or instruction, which Señor Clamorgan may issue for the Company, in whatever manner that may be, without being able to ignore it.

Drawn in duplicate in San Luis of Illinoa in good faith, the 30th of June, 1794, in the presence of the Lieutenant-Governor of this province.

Santiago Clamorgan, Antonio Reyhle, Juan Bautista Truteau. Examined and approved by us. Lieutenant-Governor Zenon Trudeau.

Today, the 25th of November, 1794, we, Santiago Clamorgan, Antonio Reyhle, Directors of the Company of the Misuri, have come to the hall of the Governor, where Señor Don Zenon Trudeau, Lieutenant-Governor, has communicated to us in writing the intentions of Señor Baron de Carondelet concerning Articles 18 and 19 of the instructions given by us to the agent of our Company for the upper Misuri, as the consequence of which the said articles are null and void, it being forbidden to put them into execution, as this is essential for the security and tranquillity of the new kingdom of Mexico, against which the nations with which we might have commercial relations would perhaps turn their arms.

SANTIAGO CLAMORGAN.
REYHLE.
ZENON TRUDEAU.

XCII

CLAMORGAN'S REPORT OF THE OPERATIONS OF THE COMMERCIAL COMPANY.—1795

General Archives of the Indies—Seville—Papers from the Island of Cuba.

[Letter of Don Santiago Clamorgan and Antoine Reihle, detailing the obstacles encountered by the Company and expenses incurred, dated July, 1795:]

In reply to your favor of the 6th inst., by which you request that the Company of the Misuri present to you the actual condition of its matters and business in order that you may give a report to the Governor-General, we shall briefly review the steps of our operations to show the extent of our disbursements by the several expeditions made for the purpose of exploring the territory of distant nations; and to make more clear the weakness of the essential parts of our operations, from which, nevertheless, ought to result the reward for our labors.

At the time of the creation of this Company in the month of May, 1794, nothing seemed to it more urgent than to follow the trend of the explorations by which it found itself animated; its expectations were to advance rapidly towards the west and [it was] already marching with long strides upon unknown soil; but the experience which now shows us the difficulties which were incessantly to impede and combat our efforts, retards and defers the moment of our success; nevertheless the perseverance which we have resolved upon as a rule and guide on this thorny way must most assuredly lead us either to the glory of a felicitous result, or bury us under the ruins of our fortunes, and in whatever way fate may decree, we shall be satisfied if at the expiration of the required period, we open a useful way to our posterity.

In order to remove the chief obstacles which incessantly oppose us, it is necessary to buy the good-will of every nation and tribe which may oppose our communications; these expenses grow to a large sum on account of the frequent repetitions, and sap our fortunes; hope alone consoles and sustains us, but, Señor, if in the midst of our career our means can no longer nourish our hope, to what shall we have recourse? We ought to anticipate that fatal moment, and seize with alacrity the opportunity of disclosing to you, how important it would be to the private interests of the Governor-General to come to our aid and support, aiding us in one of the expeditions which we undertake annually: the purpose and designs of our operations are in so many ways connected with the prosperity and preservation of the interior of the territory within the established limits and which we propose to extend to the shores of the Pacific Ocean, consequently His Majesty, desirous of maintaining his possessions, ought to encourage and support our Company in sharing its sacrifices.

On the other hand, the commerce of the English daily increasing in our possessions requires a check in this far and distant region. Do not forget that the habits and customs adopted by the English on the possessions of others in time become in their eyes rights and property which they will always claim under the title of an acquired possession, without formal possession [*i. e.*, legal right].

These claims which the learned prudence of our Governor should have anticipated by establishing several agencies, scattered and located at different points over this vast territory, would thus from the very beginning have stifled such an invasion [by the English].

If our observations are just and well connected [founded] will you have the kindness to discharge to the eyes of the Governor-General this incontestable truth, which we will make manifest [show] when the circumstances present an occasion.

You know well the effort and the repeated enterprises of various British companies that are drawing near to us: that of the Hudson Bay, which seemed a dream to us on account of the distance and which is today at our doors: the building of many of these forts situated on the Osseinbunes,[1] which statement is confirmed by two of their deserters who arrived here in one of the Company's pirogues, surprises and frightens us; those forts, which have not yet been constructed to the west and of which we have only heard, are to be built instantly. It seems that an invasion menaces all that extent of land [territory] which separates us from the Pacific Ocean: the English banner hoisted over the forts built in the territory of the Mandana nation on the upper Misuri to take possession of land which seems to them unoccupied on account of our distance from it ought to fall instantly and retire to its own territory, otherwise it will be a tacit confession and consent on our part that our Government approves of this.

---

[1] Assinniboine, a river in Assiniboia and Manitoba.

Although it is our right to destroy the commerce of the English under the protection of their banner in the heart of the dominions of His Catholic Majesty are the forces of a Company recently subjected to untold costs, losses, expenses and presents to be feared by these strangers and is it simply a question of opposing them? We may consider ourselves fortunate if their ambition does not seek the means of precipitating us into an abyss in order to remove us from their vicinity.

If you believe it of importance to preserve the possessions of His Majesty from invasion which is rapidly moving forward to the frontiers of the Californias, crossing a territory which belongs to us, we ough not to permit this occasion to pass by without beseeching you to arouse your intelligence, your patriotism, and your talent to make known your observations to the Governor-General, pointing out to him the necessity of maintaining a militia to protect and defend the line which our Company is extending from the Maha nation to beyond the Rocky [Mountain] Chain about 50° north latitude to approach the Sound of Nootka.

This distance, which is not less than seven or eight hundred leagues, demands a chain of forts located at intervals which our Company has already begun to build, and which ought to continue in the same direction, at the places most exposed to the intentions [invasions] of the strangers, to destroy their projects as well as to place the Indian tribes that we may meet under the protection of our nation. This assistance from the militia sent by the Governor, united with the small force which our commerce will oblige us to maintain, will form, from that time on, a barrier which the strangers will not dare to cross, and still less when it is supported by the affection of the Indian nations which we must continuously bind to our interests by presents given for that purpose in the name of the Great Chief, their Father, the Spaniard, in order to give him more importance.

If, unfortunately, our weakened forces ever oblige us to interrupt our course of operations, we shall soon behold the English raising a clamor on the horizon, laying claim to an ideal [imaginary] possession to which their banner, planted without opposition in different parts of the Dominions of His Majesty, will bear witness.

In these circumstances the Company offers to maintain for the whole period of its exclusive privilege, a garrison of one hundred soldiers in the different forts which it is obliged to erect on the line described above for the security of its commerce, if His Majesty will have the kindness of paying annually one hundred pesos for each one of the soldiers under the orders and commands of the general agent of this Company in this territory, and if His Majesty will grant such a subsidy as he may judge proper, in order to prevent the invasion of a commerce by strangers advancing under the protection of their banner.

I wish to inform you that the first expedition in the month of May, 1794, was made only to open a way to our explored places, and that the agent of our Company received orders to act with utmost prudence in order to assure and win the friendship of the nations through whose territory he should be obliged to pass.

The capital [outfit] of this expedition, a statement of which we shall give below, was sent under the escort of valorous and picked men, and nevertheless in the course of a year it was not able to proceed farther than to the territory of the Ricara Nation on account of the delays caused by the ice.

The second expedition, despatched in the month of April of this year, stronger and of greater consequence, under the command of a leader who was to shun nothing to remove all the obstacles from a thorny and difficult route, will be very fortunate if it reaches the Mandana nation at the end of fall, and before the severe cold, so as to be able to go overland to the Rocky chain [Mountains] whither he has orders to go without delay in order to reach, if possible, by next spring, 1796, the shores of the Sea of the West.

A third expedition, of which we have had the honor to announce to you the preparation, is to set out by the end of this month under the escort of more than thirty men and under the direction of a new agent, whose ability we have had the honor to make known to you. Presents shall be taken along in the name of His Majesty for the Ottos, Mahas, Poncas, and other nations whose territory the expedition may traverse, even to the most distant places which have already been explored and for those which may yet be explored with which we are partly acquainted, advancing far towards the northwest as well as to the southwest, in which places, the said agent shall give orders to construct forts along the first of these lines at all the places where it will be proper to place them to protect the commerce of our nation, and to prevent the hoisting of the English banner among the nations who are in our dominions.

In view of this we feel it our duty to beg you to obtain for us from the Governor twelve swivel-guns or little cannons of one pound caliber for the forts which we are beginning to construct, and we ask that they be sent to us as soon as possible. We shall now proceed to report the expenses and costs which this vast enterprise has caused us up to the present time, and of which we do not expect great returns until many years shall have passed.

May our Lord keep you well many years.

San Luis, July 8, 1795.

J. Clamorgan [1]
A. Reyhle.

Among the merchandise which we expect from Michelmakinak to complete the stock of our present expedition, there was to be some powder, but we have just been informed that the capture of several boats destined for Canada makes it impossible that the powder be sent to us which we have asked for; that necessary article, which is indispensable, obliges us to have recourse to you, asking you to provide us with about five hundred pounds; whatever more we need we expect to secure in this town, in order to send out the third expedition.

Subscribed by the above.

Report of the first expedition of the Company of the Misuri for the remote nations of the West.

MAY 1794

Value of the merchandise sent in a pirogue of which one half is intended for presents to the Indians of different nations..	20,000	
Cost of the armaments, equipments, useful things, and provisions....................................	4,000	
Salaries of Employees............................	8,800	
For the furnishing of things that were necessary on leaving..	900	
For different expenses [made] indispensable by the promises of the Lieutenant-Governor, together with banners he sent for nine nations..............................	2,000	
By the expenses of a second pirogue of merchandise which escorted the first..............................	6,647	
By expenses of armaments and salaries of men.......	4,000	
For the furnishing of things given to them at their setting out..	400	46,747

---

[1] It does not appear to whom this letter was addressed, but judging from the contents it was probably to Don Zenon Trudeau, Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Louisiana.

SECOND EXPEDITION OF APRIL 2, 1795

Value of merchandise and for a large [*bercha*] boat from which were to be taken the presents suitable for the different Indian nations	25,251	
For expenses of the armament, utilities, and provisions	8,585	
For salaries of the men	14,000	
For their equipment on setting out	1,200	
For the salaries of those who remained among the Ricaras with the agent of the Company	5,000	96,779

THIRD EXPEDITION, JULY, 1795

The merchandise of four pirogues or berchas, one intended for the Ricaras, another for the Sioux, whom it is necessary to flatter in order not to risk being beheaded [headed off], another for the five villages of the Mandana nation, and the last one to reach the Rocky Chains [Mountains] with orders to go overland to the Far West. Total of merchandise	50,000	
For the expenses of the armament of the four vessels which are to set out	15,000	
For the salaries of thirty men	30,000	46,747
For the things necessary to furnish them on setting out	3,000	96,779
For the salaries of many employees who are not able to return by the end of the year	6,000	104,000
Enormous capital, the repayment of which ought to be favored by the Governor-General		200,779[2]

---

[2] Stands probably for 200,779 pesos, or dollars.

LXXXIV

ADDITIONAL POWERS GRANTED THE COMMERCIAL COMPANY — 1796.

General Archives of the Indies, Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

Council Proceedings:]
Copy:

In the State Council held on the 27th of the past month, extracts of the last letters of that Governor [of Luisiana] up to the 10th of last February, were considered. They were accompanied by the topographical plan of the upper parts of the Misisipi and Misury rivers, and show the vast progress of the Spanish Company for Explorations west of the latter river (that Company being established on May 12th 1794); and the usurpations in the Spanish possessions of the English companies. His Majesty having thoroughly understood all the events of that province, and the means proposed by the Governor, at the advice of your Lordship and the English merchant, Don Andrés Todd, who is established in Mechilimakina, has been pleased to consent to the following points and concessions, with the unanimous advice of the said Council.

1. The approbation of the Spanish Company formed in 1794 for Exploration west of the Misury River, under the regulations and instructions with which the governor permitted it and conceded the exclusive privilege of the trade with the Indian tribes of the said Misury, who live up above the Poncas, with the offer of three thousand pesos to him who shall first reach the shores of the South Sea.

2. Permission for the Company to equip at its cost and maintain armed, in all its forts and those it may have in the future, the one hundred men whom it shall consider necessary for it, all under orders of the governor. They shall be for the purpose expressed, and the Company shall watch over the fulfilment of that duty with the greatest care.

3. That all the import and export charges shall be reduced for the present to six per cent, as is proposed by Your Lordship and the Governor. You shall both observe that with all possible exactness and inform His Majesty at the end of the first year of the results which are expected from so beneficent a provision.

4. The permission solicited by the English merchant, Don Andrés Todd, in order to introduce all the goods needed for his individual trade among the savage tribes north of the Ohio and of the Misury; and to export furs and others products from the country under the six per cent duty established before the war, and which is the condition that arises and must precede his establishing himself in Luisiana.

5. That in accordance with this same thing, the concession of the reduction or decrease of the duties of importation and exportation from fifteen per cent to six per cent, which the Governor with the consent of Your Lordship granted to Todd for a year without injury to the royal resolution, be made effective.

6. That in order to arouse anew the zeal by which Todd offers to realize the advantages that he states, one-third of the two thousand eight hundred and sixty pesos, which it appears is the value of the goods and articles which were seized from him by Don Zenon Trudeau, be returned to him.

And finally, that Your Lordship, causing all to understand the greatness of these concessions and the immense benefits which it has pleased the sovereign kindness of His Majesty to unite in the treaty of friendship, boundaries, and navigation, for the reciprocal profit of his beloved vassals of the United States, and of the Indian tribes, allied and affected to the two contracting parties, shall so arrange that all the important objects that are expected from these provisions be realized. I inform Your Lordship of this by order of His Majesty for your knowledge and observance. May God preserve Your Lordship for many years. Aranjuez, June 11, 1796.

GUARDOQUI.

Addressed: "The Intendant of Luisiana, Nueva Orleans, September 16, 1796."

[Endorsed: "Send it to the Accountancy-General of the army for their intelligence, and have two copies sent to the Secretary's office.

MORALES."]

[Endorsed: "A copy of the royal order whose original remains in this acountancy. As the chief Acountant of this province, I attest the same, in Nueva Orleans, September sixteen, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six.

GILBERTO LEONARD (rubric)"]

XCIV

MACKAY'S JOURNAL OF A VOYAGE UP THE MISSOURI TOWARD THE SOUTH SEA, 1794

General Archives of the Indies, Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

Letter to Godoy:]

YOUR EXCELLENCY:

I give into the notice of your Excellency the relation that accompanies No. 1 of the voyage of the Scotchman, Mackay,[1] general agent of the Trading and Exploring Company of the Misury River toward the South Sea, which I established in the year 1794, and confirmation of which I have solicited by secret communication No. 65, under date of January 8, of the current year.

The relation of Mackay confirms the previous information of the introduction of the English from Canada into the domains of the King, both among the Mandan tribe who are located on the south shore of the Misuri River, and of which I informed Your Excellency by the above-mentioned secret communication No. 65, and on the Chato River which flows into Nuevo Mexico, where they have erected a blockhouse in order to assure their clandestine trade with our Indian tribes, and perhaps even with the natives of Santa Fe. The letter written me by the Commandant of the Post of Natchitoches, Captain Don Luis Deblane, the copy of which accompanies No. 2, agrees with the relation of Mackay. In respect to the fact that, notwithstanding that said letter attributes to the Americans the construction of the blockhouse above mentioned, it is a fact that the latter have not allowed themselves to be seen as yet on the Misuri and its neighborhood. The fatal consequences on the part of a nation so enterprising as the English are related in the abovementioned secret communication, No. 65.

---

[1] James or Santiago Mackay, a Scotchman, was one of the first English-speaking settlers, who came to Upper Lousiana. Before his arrival in Upper Lousiana he was in the service of English fur-trading companies in the Northwest. In 1795 he made a voyage of discovery up the Missouri for the Spanish Commercial Company and transmitted this Journal of his voyage to Gayoso. In consideration of this service he was made Captain Commandant of the post of San Andrés del Misuri founded by him, and in addition was granted 30,000 arpents of land. For further particulars see biographical sketch in Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 70.

There are two means, in my judgment, which may be employed, in order to prevent the English from the beginning from forming pretensions in regard to those domains of His Majesty. One of them, the more efficacious, the more permanent, the less costly, and the more honorable, is detailed at length in the above-mentioned secret communication No. 65. The other, which will be no more than a relief for the moment and an uncertain palliative, consists in forming an expedition in Santa Fe to explore those districts more northerly than Nueva Mexico, and by driving the English from them by destroying the fortified post which they have on the Chato River. I am ignorant of the strength which that province can employ in such an expedition, as well as whether the Indian tribes of those districts will view it with tranquillity, or whether they will take the part of the English. But I am sure that if His Majesty will empower me to undertake it from San Luis de Ylinoa with two hundred men picked for the greater part from our settlements of the Upper Misisipi, and some Indians, we shall succeed in destroying that settlement with sufficient secrecy, although the distance is very great. But the expedition being able to be directed by water and to be made under the name of the Company without its true object being penetrated, its outcome will be so much the more secure, for the Company will be able to carry some light pieces of artillery to bombard the blockhouse and scatter the savages who may wish to side with the English, who cannot carry artillery to so vast distances.

I can do no less than represent to Your Excellency with this motive how advantageous it would be to assure and fix in the service of Spain the agent Mackay, a person of great loyalty and merit, whom the English employed with so great success in the explorations of the countries located north of the Misouri, with the intent of opening communication with the South Sea. A commission as Captain in the army with the full pay of his rank would flatter his ambition, and he would pledge himself to sacrifice himself for the service of Spain and the success of the Company of the Misuri in which he is interested.

May God, etc. June 3, 1796.

Baron de Carondelet, (rubric).

Addressed: "His Excellency, the Prince of Peace."

Mackay's Journal:]

Voyage of Monsieur Mackay, General Agent of the Company of the Misuri, despatched by Don Santiago Clamorgan, its director, to ascertain the discovery of the Pacific Sea, escorted and convoyed by a certain number of picked men who left the city of San Luis de Ylinois at the end of August, 1795.

October 14, 1795.

On this day I reached a place one league below the mouth of the Chato[2] River. I camped in that place in order to visit the Othochita[3] and take fresh provisions there. On the following day I reached a place one-half league above the said river in order to construct a house for the wintering of the traders whom I left there on the 20th day [of the same month] following. The principal men of said tribe arrived to the number of sixty. On the following day I assembled the chiefs in council in order to chide them and represent to them with vigor their evil conduct with the whites whom their Spanish Father has sent them for the purpose of furnishing them the goods that they needed. Convinced of the truth, they gave me weak excuses. I made them perceive the consequences that might result if they did not change their conduct from that moment. Their reply reduced itself to saying in effect that they would change their conduct toward the whites if I kept the word which I gave them; in respect to the fact that they had never until the present had any but traders who deceived them by telling them all sorts of lies in order to get hold of their furs, giving them great promises of which none were ever fulfilled. I told them that their Father, in his desire to render them happy had formed a Company to supply them with all the things that they needed; that this Company, of which I am here as its agent, would never deceive them in its promises, if they behaved well toward us. In that case the Company will have a fort built for them next autumn in order to protect them from their enemies; in which there will always be merchandise, without them having to go to the English who desire to deceive them more than do the traders. After this speech which I had made to them through my interpreter, I perceived that it had not failed to produce an effect, because, although they were sent to pillage the boats destined for the most distant posts, they did not touch absolutely a thing except what I wished to present to them of my own accord, and not even did they dare to enter into any of the pirogues laden with goods for the Mandans and other tribes of the Upper Misouri.

I remained eleven days with the Othoctatas [*sic*] in order to make them some representations and to attract them by my mildness to our side. I imagine that my harangues will not fail of success. If such be the case, will your Grace remember to fulfil the promises that have been made to them. In case of the contrary, I beg Your Grace, for the future prosperity of the Company, to deprive them entirely of everything they need. In that regard Your Grace may interest yourself with the Government, in order that no one may be permitted, for the general welfare of the country, to penetrate to this tribe, whether for trade or hunting. Without doubt Your Grace will find the necessary aids for preventing those who go to the Panis and the Lobos [*i. e.*, Wolves] and Abenaquies from giving them any aid secretly, by passing through any other road than the above-mentioned Chato River on whose banks are located the Othocatatas who would doubtless pillage them. In case that their conduct with the Company permits the sending of goods next year, I must inform Your Grace that at least one hundred guns are needed for this tribe, without which, as has happened, the returns will be very doubtful, since three-fourths of the tribe are idle all winter, so that the trader suffers a considerable loss in furs.

---

[2] Platte.

[3] Otoes.

On November three, the son of Pajaro Negro[4] [*i. e.*, Blackbird] who was in San Luis the past summer came to meet me with a band of young men, as soon as he heard of my speedy arrival among his tribe. His father sent him to protect me from the obstacles that I might meet on my way. They accompanied me overland for the two days' march to their village. The cold and the snow have been so great that they have considerably retarded my voyage.

On November eleven, I reached a place below the village of the Mahas with the great chief Pajaro Negro who came to meet me a day's journey distant. He showed great affection and friendship to me, as did the other chiefs who accompanied him. As soon as we reached the village, he placed a guard in my boats to watch all night and to see that his people did not take anything.

On the 12th and 13th, the weather was so bad that I was unable to unload my boats. Consequently, during these two days, I held long conferences with the Great Chief on various important matters, both for the Government and the Company. I found him in those conferences, to be a man full of experience, intelligence, and capacity.

---

[4] Blackbird was a celebrated chief of the Mahas. It is said of him that being opposed by a portion of his band he secured from some of the traders of St. Louis, "strong medicine," *i. e.* crude arsenic, and invited some sixty of the fractious warriors to a feast of dog-soup, esteemed a great delicacy among them, and which he had poisoned. After these warriors had done ample justice to the feast he arose and told them that he derived his authority from the "Master of life," and that before "the sun rises again" every one of them should die, and in fact the sixty warriors expired that night. This established the authority of Blackbird among the Mahas, so that he never was opposed again. He died in 1802 and was buried on a hill near the present St. Joseph.

The rigor of the weather having moderated on the fourteenth, I unloaded my berchas and pirogues, and placed them in security.

On the fifteenth I assembled the Great Chief and the principal men of the tribe in Council, and represented to them forcibly the bad conduct that they had observed toward the traders who went to their tribe. I told them that their Spanish Father sent me in order to ascertain whether they had any intention of changing their conduct; that if they acted well, a Company, formed for the Misury, would never allow them to want for anything, and they would not need to have recourse to the goods which the English bring annually; that then they would have whites with them all the year whom the Company would leave for their needs; and that if they did the contrary they would be deprived of everything.

They answered me that the traders who had been sent to them hitherto were very bad, and the last of all the men whom they had seen among the nation; but that now they were satisfied at seeing a white chief in their village whom they could call their Father, on whose word they could count; and that they would behave better if they had many guns with which to hunt, in order to support their families. Now Your Grace may see how useful it is for the Company to supply them with arms and ammunition, although it may be necessary to make them a present of them, for when a savage has many furs, trade is easy with him, but when he has few, quite the contrary happens.

This village contains seven hundred warriors, and I have promised them two hundred muskets for next year, and those are even very few for the number of men there. If this is not possible, Your Grace must count on a general discontent on their part, and the sure loss of the trade that might be carried on with them. They care for only the English guns and not the French, which burst in their hands, and good powder, for, as a regular thing, bad powder is sent them, which is of the greatest consequence for the hunt. Today I began to trade with them, which I stopped at the setting of the sun. That has surprised them greatly, since they are accustomed to trade at all times, and when they please, without considering the convenience of the trader. I announced to them that the first one who dared to violate my intentions would repent it, and that threat has had all the effect that I desired.

The Mahá Chief, their sovereign, is the soul of the village and many others. He appears to be my sincere friend since my arrival. He is more despotic than any prince of Europe, and, in addition, most courteous and of great talent. His present conduct toward us must not be forgotten, since he is the one to decide whether our communication remains open and free.

November 21, the Indians went to hunt contented and satisfied, and I was under the necessity of sending part of my men with them, as there were no provisions in the village, for maize was totally lacking, and there was not one-half minot of this grain which would not have cost me a blanket. This scarcity of food retards a trifle the construction of the fort which I am building, but will not prevent me from finishing it soon. I saw a Ponca chief who left on the next day for his village. Through him I have sent severe reprimands to his tribe. I showed him my bercha, and, in order to mortify him, I told him that it was charged with goods for the purpose of going to his tribe; but that since his whole village was incapable of anything else than doing evil, I would punish it by never sending any more, and depriving their women and children of whatever they needed; that now they would get no guns or powder with which to get their living; that they would die of hunger; that the Great Mahá Chief would unite with me in order to avenge me. After hearing my long and severe speech, he could do naught but shed tears over the conduct of all his tribe.

After that I declared a plan to the Maha prince in regard to my voyage to the head of the Misuri, presenting to him the famous medal and patents which pleased him greatly, especially as they were accompanied by the present given him by the Company; although he was surprised at not finding in it a large flag, telling me that the English always gave one with the medal, and that they had frequently persuaded him to accept both, but that he had never made use of either of them, and that he had abandoned them to his children, in order to give them to understand that he had no intention of destroying the friendship of his Spanish Father; but that he believed that the latter did not appreciate the affection which he professed for him; that it would be shameful for him not to receive a large banner and a present proportioned to his importance, since the English, his neighbors, constrained him to receive their friendship and their presents which they send him annually, in order to attract him with his tribe to the River of San Pedro in order to trade his furs with them, thus insinuating to him and to his tribe the scant heed that their Spanish Father gives them, who did not love them, while, on the contrary, their English Father was so affectionate to them, and showed so great generosity to the red men that he would not fail them in anything, although the latter would not give them [*i. e.*, the English] the hand. In proof of this they annually receive presents in his name, both for the support of their families and to clothe themselves; and, notwithstanding, without heeding so many promises on the part of the English, and without trusting to the deceits of the French traders of the Misuri, he only desired to conserve the friendship of his Spanish Father, for his heart was happy because the latter had sent a chief to visit him, and to make him recognize truly his word, which so many other traders had hitherto falsified, deceiving him. On that account he would endeavor to assist me in all my plans especially in opening a road of communication with the Upper Misuri, and reuniting the various tribes, who could oppose the conservation of the peace and tranquillity. He himself in person with his tribe would go to convoy my boats to the Ricaras, if there were the least sign of danger or opposition. He would reduce the Poncas to their duty, avenging the wrong and injury which they had committed against our boat conducted by Lecuyer. He ended his speech by testimonies of regret over the past, protesting that his heart had never been happy until this day, and that he saw in me his true friend whom his Father had sent him, and that he was speaking the truth.

Seeing that I was constructing a fort in which large guns were to be placed, that is, to say, cannons, to protect their tribe from all those who refused to enter into relations of peace with them, I told him that, reckoning on his good actions in favor of the Government and of the Company, he could be absolutely sure of their friendship and protection against all those who attempted anything against his tribe or who disturbed the good harmony and concord in which his Father, the Spaniard, desired to make them live. Consequently, he would send them two great guns next summer, in order that they might be placed in the fort, and they would remain there continuously, both to protect them from their enemies and to open the road from the Upper Misuri; in regard to which I hoped that he would keep his promise. He answered me that the Master of Life was witness of his promise and of mine, and that the universe would see which of us two failed. On that score we, respectively, reiterated our promises, and took as witness of our oaths the sun which lightened us. Afterward he asked me for my patents or despatches from his Great Father, the Spaniard, who lived on the other shore of the Great Lake, that is, in Europe, in order that he might see whether, as I told him, I was the bearer of his word among the tribes of this continent, in order to direct, assist, or compel to peace the evil tribes, whether by mildness or by force, clothing me with his authority in order that I might clear the road of the Upper Misuri and remove all the obstacles placed there by the tribes through whom one must cross in order to reach the proposed end; that, without it, he would not dare to undertake a task which could grieve his Father, the Spaniard, who would be angry with him and with me if he did it without his permission. I replied to him that in such a question he demanded from me prudence to convince him that the word which I gave him had already been announced to him three months before by our Spanish Father, Don Zenon Trudeau, by means of his [*i. e.*, the chief's] son when the latter presented himself in San Luis in the month of July last; that the desire of our Great Father was to make all the red men happy; that our Father, Don Zenon Trudeau, was entrusted with this commission, in consequence of which he had sent a member of the Company to announce to him his word. I told him that our Great Father, being informed that for many years the tribes of the Misuri were showing evil inclinations against the whites and his traders, this had made him take the precaution of sending a chief to him, who, showing him his friendship and good intentions, should be supported by his power through the likeness which he has with him in authority, judgment, and sentiments, to bring the tribes of the Upper Misuri to reason, who might oppose themselves to the good-fortune and tranquillity of those who desire to live in good fellowship with the whites, who can at any moment deprive them or procure for them whatever they need when they judge it suitable. He answered me that his Father, the Spaniard, as well as myself, had always charged him to be good; that such have always been his intentions; but that he did not have sufficient ascendency among the other tribes to cause himself to be perfectly respected, without making presents to their chiefs, in order to show them his superiority by means of his power and noble conduct, which he had with the common chiefs of each tribe whenever they assembled to form a pact of friendship and alliance among these same tribes and the whites, who came from the district of his Father, the Spaniard; that, in such case, the presents would make them adopt my advice and my counsels, receiving the calumet of peace and the Spanish flag, notwithstanding how ordinary it might be; for the Sioux, as well as other tribes of the northern district, receive from the English only silk flags, which would cause them to despise ours. Notwithstanding, he is about to send to seek out all the tribes, but he tells me that this cannot be done without great presents of cloth, blankets, kettles, tobacco, guns, and ammunition; that these articles he did not ask for himself, but rather for me and to make it known that his Father, the Spaniard, loved and showed his affection to the Indians who behaved well. He told me that he would send posts this winter with a calumet to all the tribes, especially to the Sioux, who frequent the Misuri between the Poncas and Ricarás, in order to induce them to come to see me next spring, with the object of adopting measures and resolutions of peace with them, and opening forever a free communication with the Upper Misuri, allowing my boats to pass without committing any outrage; but that, when they came, presents were necessary; that he had nothing to give, and that, consequently, it was necessary for me to stand the expense; that a large royal flag was absolutely necessary for him, in order to distinguish him from the other chiefs, and to lend importance to his mission.

A few days after my arrival here, I received information that a Ponca had killed a Ricará who had come to his village with a message last summer. This occurrence, together with the previous outrages committed upon the Sioux, places great obstacles to my passage. I hope, nevertheless, with the aid of the Mahá prince and with a portion of presents placed suitably, to find a means of opening the road, although these two casualties will occasion reiterated expenses, and will retard our march.

November 24. Not having had any information of the Ricarás, and not being able to send by water, I had a well-accompanied detachment set out overland with the order to go to said tribe, and inform me of what is stated above. But, unfortunately, they had to return, because they discovered a considerable band of Sioux who were hunting buffalo, at sight of whom, believing that their lives were not safe, they came here on the sixth of January, on which occasion the great Mahá Chief protested to me again that he would assist me to succeed in my enterprise.

On the 29th, the Prince came to visit the fort which was being built in a plain located between the very village of the Mahas and the Misuri River, on the shore of a small river which flows into the latter and is fairly navigable. This plain is very extensive, the land excellent, and never inundated by the waters. The location of the fort seems to have been prepared by nature. It is in a commanding district, which is elevated into a circumference of about one thousand feet. It looks on the shore of this river as if to command the rest of the area. I have established my settlement and my fort there, although at a distance from the woods, but the horses of the Prince are at my service.

On December 18, the Misuri had ice, and on the 19th of December, was completely frozen.

January 18, 1796.

Two Mahas arrived from the hunt.

NOTE.[8] Monsieur Mackay goes into great details here on the pillage of the Poncas, which it is useless to mention, since he had already given information of what passed among this tribe because of the bad management of the conductor [of the boats], Lecuyer.

He continues after to say: The autumn having passed, I ordered Antonio Breda, our commissioner, to hide the rest of the goods, which the Poncas took, and which remained in their village, announcing to them that I was sending them to try to give them to the Mahas. Antonio Breda executed my orders faithfully. That mortified the Poncas greatly who counted on taking possession of the rest, which is very little, at whatever price they wished. I hope that in the future, it will not be so, if my friend, the Great Chief, the Maha Prince keeps his word with me. He expressed himself as greatly irritated against the Poncas. Some time ago he sent them a message, and he himself, accompanied by the chiefs of their village, is going thither to make them deliver the few furs that they have obtained in their hunt, on account of what they have stolen. I believe that his journey will not be without success, and, although he will not bring back more than a little from a hunt to which no necessity incited them, the consequence will always be advantageous for the interests of the Company, since it will serve as an example to the other tribes in the future. And then Your Grace will not doubt that my friend the Maha

---

[8] The clerk or official who copied or translated the original journal here merely synopsizes.

Prince has a right to a generous recompense [and this will] increase our losses and expenses. But it is important to sustain the authority of this intrepid man for the ostentation and particular distinction of. elevating him above every other chief, especially for his personal interest. This man deserves consideration, and must not be abandoned, for I consider him one of the chief instruments of our projects. A present worthy of him and one of consideration ought to be given him annually. It is necessary to give this on account of his character, and does not Your Grace believe that, however little, it is worth more to fatten one who rules as a despot over various tribes than to feed many at less expense. However, the Government must come to our aid, for he is one of the chief supports for our navigation. The intrigue of the English, in order to attract the tribes of the Misuri, has cast so deep roots among these peoples, that it is necessary to apply a prompt remedy, unless we desire to see ourselves exposed to abandon this magnificent country which must some day be a great resource to the prosperity and glory of the state.

The presents which the English send annually to the various tribes where they can penetrate give much weight to their intrigues. The English of the river of San Pedro had concluded among this tribe last autumn the construction of a fort for them on the shore of the Misuri, which they were resolved to maintain against all resistance. My arrival here changed all their projects, and the presents which I have made to the tribe and to my friend, the Prince, have turned them in such manner in my favor, that they have made disappear and have destroyed the measures agreed upon by the English.

The latter have at present thirty pirogues of goods on the San Pedro River within four days' journey from these places. They sell the blanket for two furs, and the rest in proportion. It is probable that they will come this spring to visit the Misuri. The jealousy that has always existed among the merchants of Canadá, has not only ruined trade with the Indians in their territory, but also with the vassals of His Catholic Majesty on the western part of the Misisipi to which they daily penetrate.

The traders of the River of Monigona[6] have sent twelve horses laden with goods to trade with the Panis and the Layos[7] [*sic*] on the Chato River. The caravan crossed the Misuri in the month of last December. I would be glad to be able to deal them a blow on their return.

[6] Des Moines.

[7] Lobos or Wolves.

Since my arrival here, I have sent many messages to various tribes, which has occasioned me great expense, although that is inseparable from our interests if we wish to open up communication for our explorations. In order to reach the Pacific Sea, we must expect to see them increase daily until our project sees complete fulfilment. We need the aid of the Government to resist and destroy the ambition of foreigners. In any other way, the ruin of the Company in its infancy is inevitable.

Through my fear of arriving late next summer at the Mandans, I am going to send out a detachment within a few days under charge of Monsieur Even,[8] until he meets Trudeau[9] who must have already constructed his fort among the above-mentioned Mandans, if he has experienced no opposition on the part of the English, who have had the audacity to unfurl their banner there. Monsieur Even is to leave there with picked men, who occasion us great expense, in order to visit the head-water of the Misuris, La Cadena de Rocas,[10] and to follow the Pacific Sea according to the enclosed instructions of which he carries a copy.

Letter to Trudeau:

I am sending to Your Grace the despatch as Commandant of the forts established by the Company, in favor of Mr. Mackay, so that after having examined it, Your Grace may deliver it to the director, Don Santiago Clamorgan. May God preserve Your Grace many years. Nueva Orleans, May 12, 1796.

Baron de Carondelet (rubric).

Addressed: "Don Zenon Trudeau."

Letter from Deblane:]

My General: On the journey made by Don Francisco Gamate[11] [*sic*] through the tribes, he assures me that he has been well informed, that in the vicinity of the savages and Ambaricas[12] [*sic*] (who although nomad as a general thing, are very frequently found encamped between this Colorado River of Natchitoches and that of the Akansas which unite above, having their rise near the mountains of Santa

---

[8] Evans.

[9] Jean Baptiste Truteau who was in command of the first expedition of the Company.

[10] The Chain of Rocks or Rocky Mountains.

[11] This name may be La Mothe.

[12] Ricaras.

Fé in Nuevo Mexico), there was found a band of Americans fortified in a blockhouse. If this is so, it must be inferred that they have crossed from this side of the river into the district of Ylinois, and that they have crossed the Misuri between the villages of the Osages and Ottos to the place above mentioned. This is very possible, since the road from Santa Fé to Ylinois was discovered last year by one Pedro Vial,[13] called Maniton [or Manitou]. I charged the above-mentioned Lamate [*sic*] to deliver this to your Lordship. I informed him as soon as I arrived at the city what I had discovered regarding the matter. Also he has promised me that he would offer his services to the Government to go in person to drive the American thence. Accustomed, as he is, to the fatigue of the longest voyages, and knowing perfectly the methods, manners, and customs of the Indians, I believe that he would really be very proper for this expedition. I have the honor to remain, with the most profound respect, my General, your most obedient and humble servant,

LUIS DEBLANE.[14]

Natchitoches, February 22, 1796.

Addressed: "Baron de Carondelet."[15]

---

[13] See *ante*, vol. i, p. 350.

[14] Louis Charles de Blanc, Captain and Commandant of Natchitoches received extensive grants of land on Red River and on the Teche. He was perhaps the Louis de Blanc, who in 1810 was a member of the constitutional convention of Louisiana from the county of Attakapas.

[15] Francois Louis Hector, Baron de Carondelet de Noyelles, Siegneur d'Haine Saint Pierre, was born in 1747 in Flanders, and died in 1807. He was of an illustrious family, which originated with one Jean de Charond, chancellor of Bourgoyne, so that the family was of Bourguignonne origin, and became Flemish at the end of the XV. century. The name arose from the founder, Charond, who was called Carondelet, because of his small figure, and which indeed seems to have been a family characteristic, because Carondelet also was of short stature. Although I have no direct authority, think it is likely that Carondelet entered the Spanish military service in the Walloon Guards, and thus came into the Spanish colonial service. Before he was appointed Governor of Louisiana he was Governor of San Salvador in Guatemala. He arrived at New Orleans in January, 1792. From the documents published in this Collection we gain a glimpse of his great activity while Governor of the province. But in lower Louisiana he was active in promoting every local enterprise calculated to advance the prosperity of the colony. He greatly improved the municipal administration of New Orleans, introduced a system of lighting the streets, fortified the city, built the canal known to this day as the "Carondelet canal," and which drained the city and gave it water connection with Lake Pontchartrain, and during his administration the first newspaper was established in New Orleans. His efforts to separate the western people from the Union in order to strengthen the position of Spain in the Mississippi valley are in part detailed in these documents and evidence his great capacity and devotion to Spain. In 1797 he was appointed President of the Royal Audiencia of Quito. In the army he attained the rank of Mariscal-de-Campo, i. e., Field-Marshal.

XCV

MEMORIAL OF THE MERCHANTS OF ST. LOUIS TO REVOKE THE MONOPOLY OF THE COMMERCIAL COMPANY AND REPLY TO SAME

General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

Copy of a memorial addressed to His Excellency by various persons in Yllinoa.[1]

The habitants of Yllinoa, who have been suffering for a long time through being excluded from the trade in peltries, the exclusive privilege of which has been given to certain individuals, venture, with the fullest confidence, to present before you their just demands; and they are satisfied, Sirs, that you will direct all your attention tocause the end and suppression of the privileges which discourage allthe [*torn in the original*] ofthe citizens, and cause many to fear approaching poverty.

The trade in peltries, the sole and only resource which for a long time has supported the commerce of this country, being forbidden to the greater part of the citizens must necessarily involve the ruin of the merchants, who cannot hope to make returns to the metropolis since they are deprived of the only valuable commodity which they could introduce there.

By these exclusions from trading, the commerce of this metropolis must suffer a considerable loss in the fact that, besides the peltries which are no longer received and which go to support the foreign commerce, its storehouses are no longer drawn upon for the same amount as formerly.

In 1783 there were sent from Nouvelle Orleans for the Yllinoa ten cargoes valued at 200,000 piastres; all was consumed in the country, and the returns were made entirely in peltries. From that period until the time when the exclusive privileges were given, the commerce of this city drew annually from the metropolis a value of 150,000 to 180,000 piastres. But what is the value that the commerce draws from it to-day? It does not amount here annually to 40,000 piastres, not counting what is obtained from the metropolis by those holding exclusive privileges. It is true, there is no doubt that the commerce in peltries has greatly diminished: but enough of it still remains to secure the welfare of all those who could participate in it. The post on the Misuri alone yields annually a total of 2,050 packs [of furs] at the lowest calculation — for the estimate of it can be increased. The peltries, which can be valued at the sum of 10,000 piastres, if distributed and put into circulation would encourage all the habitants. The trader, stimulated by eagerness for gain, and restrained by fear of losing the confidence of the merchant, would make a fortune for his family; and he would give all his attention to curbing the savages, and to securing the most important parts of the exploitation which was entrusted to him. The engagé, sure of receiving his salary in current money, would become more careful and economical, in the hope of acquiring some landed property.

---

[1] It does not appear to whom this memorial was addressed (presumably, to the Governor-General of Louisiana, or possibly the Board of Trade of Louisiana)nor is any date given. It is clear, however, that it was transmitted to New Orleans after De Lassus was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Louisiana in 1799 or 1800.

The tiller of the soil, assured of selling his products and of receiving a price at their current value, would increase his means [of production], and would give all his attention to agriculture. We would see industry revive; speculations would quickly follow one another; and various enterprises would be formed which would tend to regenerate the country and make it flourish.

If commerce were free, and every individual could have a claim on the tree, there would be a much greater consumption of merchandise; with the peltries reverting to all, there would be abundance of business; the circulation being general and plentiful, consumption would increase in proportion; and the metropolis, from which the people would be obliged to obtain their merchandise, would find therein a great benefit. Exclusion from the commerce is one of the worst scourges which this country can experience, for it demands all the encouragement possible, in order to bring it to the degree of splendor of which it is capable. Exclusion enervates courage, withers imagination, and ruins industry; and, without mentioning the particular evils to which it gives birth, we shall say that exclusive privileges are contrary to all laws, civil and political, and wound natural equity.

You are not ignorant, Sirs, that peltry is the only article of merchandise which represents here specie money; and if it is owned exclusively by a few private persons, what hope is there for other individuals, what resource for the merchants? Checked in all their plans, their commerce languishes, their invested capital remains shut up in their warehouses; all is ruined or damaged. The time for payment arrives, and the unfortunate man has not the first sou with which to meet his obligations; pursued by his creditors, he makes a great sacrifice, and his innocent family, stripped, suffer losses which could not be foreseen.

The distressed farmer no longer can place his commodities, being entirely dependent on those who alone possess the privileges, and is obliged to furnish his produce at the prices which they are willing to allow to him for it — fortunate, besides, in receiving articles of merchandise, which given in payment, are sold to him by gold weight. Despair in his heart, he is most often left in reaction, and does no more work than is enough for the existence of his family.

It would be a great mistake to suppose that it is a matter of indifference, and even greater to think that it is advantageous to the public welfare, that the trading-posts should be operated by a single man having the exclusive right to the trade. Not only are the savages not restrained either more or less, but the advantage is found entirely with him who enjoys the privilege; all the produce of the trade remains with him, and all the profits of the trade besides. Still more the wages of the employées do not go out of his house, for he takes great care to pay them in merchandise — so that, as he receives all the peltries, the other merchants can obtain from the engagés only such custom as he cannot prevent from going outside. No advantage, then, remains for the public, since nothing is put into circulation; and it is only fully recognized that the circulation of money, or that of a valuable article which represents it, makes the wealth of business men, procures abundance in the country, and in general secures the welfare of all the individuals who inhabit it.

With exclusion [from the trade] abolished, every one tries to procure for himself a part of the money so necessary to the extension of commerce. Then will be seen many persons employed in carrying on operations at the various trading-posts; the traders, vying with one another to make their way into the interior of the country, would seek out the Indian tribes; the hope of conducting a more prosperous business would stimulate new discoveries of tribes, which, while increasing the consumption of merchandise, would yield an immense product, and distribute considerable value in this province. The Indians, surrounded by a crowd of white men that were maintained by the general interest, would no longer turn so easily to commit their depredations; and the traders, combined together, would be less exposed to insults from the barbarians.

(The memorial continues without regard to the [*word illegible in original*].)

Fearing lest we weary your attention, Sirs, it is not in this brief statement that all the disadvantages of the exclusive privileges can be depicted and proved. In whatever way one chooses to consider them, they tend only to cause and hasten the ruin of the country in which they are tolerated. You will find us ready to answer and explain all objections which can be raised in regard to this subject, and to prove more fully how the exclusive privileges have been and always will be injurious to all countries, and especially to this province.

Decide, Sirs, to abolish those privileges, to restore general freedom of commerce, and do justice to our claims. We believe them to be just; they are founded upon the right which our august monarch has accorded to all his subjects without distinction. In rendering justice to us, in doing the good to which your hearts inspire you, in facilitating the welfare of the faithful subjects of His Majesty, you will cause peace and happiness to spring up again in the hearts of the fathers of families; and you will heap up the prayers of an entire people, who will not cease to offer them for your preservation and the prosperity of the kingdom. We think that we ought to inform you that we have presented the same memorial to the Regidors of the Cabildo and to Monseigneur the Intendant-General of this province.

(Signed:)

Manuel Lisa.

Charles Sanguinet.
Grégoire Sarpy.
G. F. Robidoux.
Patrick Lee.
F. M. Benoit.
André Landreville.
Jacinto Egliz.
A. Reilhe.
J. Montan [Motard].
Emileon Yostes [Yosti].

Guillaume Hébert [*dit* Lecomte Carbonneau de Caspiché]
Joseph E. Marié.
Antoine Reynol [Dr. Reynal]
François Valois [Vallé].
Cabil [*sc.* Gabriel] Proulx.
G. R. Spencer.
Mackey Wherry.
W. Lacroix.
——Prieur [Noel Antonie?]
J. Baptiste Monier.
Antoine Janis.

(On the margins of the preceding document is the following:)

"To Messieurs the memorialists for the commerce of the other side. Sirs: You have asked for my opinon; I give it to you.

"I remain, etc."[2]

---

[2] The following vehement reply to the memorial is unsigned.

The Government, enlightened as to the necessity of keeping the savage tribes of Misuris in a dependence advantageous to the preservation of the territory, has believed that it ought to grant the privileges of the Indian trade to certain persons rather than to others, in order to avoid the corruption of the tribes which is and always has been entailed in their being frequented by all sorts of white men. Scarcely has experience made the Government understand which of the two modes of conducting the trade, the free or the exculsive, has been more or less favorable to the interests of His Majesty; it has doubtless pleased him by adopting that of exclusion. Where are you, Don Zenon Trudeau — you who have so well known how to secure the attachment of the savage tribes to the banner of His Majesty, you who have led and directed them to suit the interests of the Government? had you adopted the foolish system of freedom for the Indian commerce in the Misuri [region], you would certainly have kept it in check, because your experience had made you understand the necessity of the opposite [policy].

And you, Don Carlos de Lassus, who have followed in the same path, because you have seen that it was useful for the preservation of His Majesty's property, tell me: when your predecessors adopted the [policy] of exclusion from the trade of the Misuris, were they mistaken? You political lights, your discretion and your accomplishments have without doubt made you recognize the truth of this.

The trade in peltries is precarious; that of the farmer is founded on solid bases. It would be desirable that the Indian trade give place to agriculture; for then fruitful sources would nourish a commerce which would steadily expand, and with success, in the heart of the capital. Look at your neighbors established on the Belle Rivière [*i. e.*, the Ohio River]; is it peltries or agriculture which is steadily enriching them? Already you see that these new habitants, who are hardly emerging from their [political] infancy, no longer recognize the weapon which they employed to make a living when they formed their first settlement in Kentucky; there it is everywhere replaced by the plow, which digs long furrows under the ox, weighed down by his daily toil, and the fertile soil rewards with usury the generous cares of the farmer. Behold the true source of prosperity and abundance. It is also that which the beneficent government rigorously protects in order to enrich its subjects. So that the authors of the memorial may no longer occupy themselves, then, in insinuating that the fortune of the business men of the capital depends on the skin of the deer that runs in the woods — for which is longing the merchant of the Yllinoa, who has need to borrow the industry of his neighbors in order to furnish to his family a livelihood less doubtful than that which the trade with the savages procures for them; it must, besides, be believed that it is the policy of the Government to prefer the exclusion from the trade in the Misuri (which is the route to Mexico). This is in order to avoid the pernicious counsels of all the classes and sorts of white men who would enter that trade, as well as to avoid the seductions of foreigners who would thrust themselves into it under feigned names, in order to favor, with the allurement of reward, their commerce and their ambitions, when they are only longing for the means for proceeding over the boundaries of New Mexico. Two advantages apparently ought to result at the present time from the secret views of the Government: first, that of preserving to His Majesty a territory which would soon be invaded by foreigners: second, that of obliging every class of citizens to attach themselves to the source of true good-fortune by embracing the industry which recourse to agriculture furnishes them.

If the commerce of the metropolis were suffering (as you, Sirs, who are the authors of the memorial say) a considerable loss, not only from this exclusion from the trade with the savages, but also from the loss which the capital suffers of the peltries which go among the foreigners, then the merchant of the Yllinoa would find himself overstocked with merchandise which he had obtained from the capital. But on the contrary, Messieurs the signers, there is not one of you who has not obtained and who is not still obtaining goods from the foreigners for maintaining his trade not only with the whites, but with all the tribes of the Misisipi, and with those that surround you, without there being the least hindrance to it on the part of the Government; because there is not any danger from the foreigners to the estates of His Majesty, which the Government is always vigilant to preserve from the approach of their ambition. To the Government alone does it pertain to understand the most effective means for the prosperity of its subjects, because it is against the natural order that it should apply itself to its own destruction.

In 1783 the ten cargoes of which you, Messieurs the memorialists, speak were distributed as much on the American side of the Misisipi River) as on your own; and, notwithstanding that it has been eighteen or nineteen years since the sale of those goods was made, a very large part of the returns is still unpaid. You know that Monsieur so-and-so and Monsieur so-and-so, doing business in Nouvelle Orleans, and Monsieur so-and-so and Monsieur so-and-so at San Luis, are still unprotected for these outstanding debts — which they have charged to "profit and loss," because the balances due will never be paid, for lack of means. If the cargoes amounted to 200,000 piastres (as you, Sirs, say), there was at least the value of the revenue of the Ylinoa for five years which it failed to yield for meeting its obligations therein; for it is well known that the returns from Misuri do not yield above 40,000 piastres in value for all the peltries which come thence, and with that sum it is necessary to pay for the merchandise outside and the engagés inside, and the expenses of equipment — without including therein the risks, on which the guarantor himself must remain without any profit. According to these facts, which, Sirs, are contained in your archives (for the Lieutenant-Governors have always made, every year, a recapitulation of the returns from Misuris), it is evident that the demands which you have represented as flowing from capital since the year 1783 have anticipated, each successive year, the returns from Misuris, which were absorbed in advance for five consecutive years by the excessive amount of merchandise which was imported for the consumption of 1783. The adjustment of this ill-advised combination necessarily involved the Ylinoa in bankruptcy or in an excessive delay of the payment, since its merchants needed the income of five years to meet their obligations. What has been and what is yet to be the result of this, Messiuers the memorialists? This: that, through the little knowledge which you have of the locality, in the commercial exchanges[3] which exist there the advances that you have made to the greater number serve in part to liquidate the arrearages of old debts; and that with you there appears a chasm which your new debtor cannot fill. You make new advances to him the following year, in the hope of breaking away from his clutch; but another, an old creditor, more shrewd, more adroit, or more tricky than you, makes part of your funds avail to pay himself, sometimes for sums which he had believed to be quite lost. Thus, Sirs, the latest comers in the business of the Ylinoa always pay those who came earlier; and every shopkeeper will cause the merchant in the capital, in his turn, to complain, the latter being absolutely ignorant that it needs at least the incomes of ten consecutive years in the Ylinoa to pay his claims. In order to establish a system of prosperity, we must go to the source of the means which oppose it or which conduce to it; and with a guide, Sirs, you will not proceed blindly in the fruitful path the entrance of which you seek. Up to the present, Sirs, the prudent conduct of the Government has kept you back from the sacrifices to which you all would be exposed if every individual had been free to furnish unlimited merchandise to the savage tribes of the Misuri — sacrifices which three times the amount of peltries which come thence could never have recompensed. The Government, since its first organized beginning in the Ylinoa, knowing well that the fortune of each merchant would not permit him to endure the interruption in his business that was certain if competing shipments of goods entered the Misuri country, has always set limits to that trade. But, Sirs, when one has very little to lose in business one is usually willing to risk much to make a fortune; and this is to be, at the time, neither judicious nor prudent. It is not thus that you tell him the means that it is necessary to adopt "in order to regenerate the country and bring it to a degree of splendor." I say, on the contrary, that this [notion of free trade] would lead the country to eternal ruin. Your demand, Sirs, would be admissible anywhere else than in the traffic with the savage tribes, where industry has no scope; while here the share of talents of each citizen can have no extension, since it is true that the interests of the Government demand that at one time the savages shall receive merchandise and at another be deprived of them, according to the greater or less pressure that it is expedient to exert in order to reduce them to fidelity. After having demonstrated to you the falsity of your principles, it is necessary also to make you understand the rash error into which you have fallen in making the statement that the output of the Misuri region is 2,050 packs of peltries. You can have recourse to all the recapitulations of the Lieutenant-Governors of the Ylinoa, and you will find that the enumeration has never exceeded 1,200 packs, for usually it is only 1,000 to 1,100. It is, as you see, to carry matters beyond the extreme to put forth the idea that the peltry of the Misuri, if placed in circulation, "would encourage the habitant and secure the welfare of the family of every trader" — whereas the trader is usually only a ragamuffin [*un va nud pied*], who has neither hearthstone nor abode, nor wife nor children, save those which the commercial venture entrusted to him induces him to procure among the savages with whom he trades. Therefore, Sirs.

---

[3] Fr., *dans la circulation d'une navette de traffic qui y existe;* literally, "in the circulation of a shuttle of traffic." The figure is drawn from the motion of a weaver's shuttle back and forth, which is suggested in the system of commercial exchanges of money.

not to assert myself longer so harshly to persons who are 500 leagues away, who cannot see things as they really are, as I can who am close by, in reading your statement. Sirs, I cannot fail to see that you are continually imposing on the good faith of your readers. You ignore, or try to ignore, that it is the white men who have corrupted the savage tribes, and that the latter, before the whites went among them, were pliable and docile. Why, then, say in your memorial that the trader would give all his care to restraining the savages, when precisely the opposite is known to be the fact? as also that the merchant needs to make choice of the least worthless of the traders in order to entrust to him his venture, if he would not sacrifice the whole of it?

To hear you argue, Messieurs the memorialists, one would say that you were not citizens of the Ylinoa. Has not the farmer of Upper Luisiana the same right as foreigners to carry to the capital the surplus of his consumption in grain, if he has it, and to receive for it its actual value? Answer me, Messieurs the memorialists; for I imagine that you were absent-minded in reasoning out this false idea when you set it down in your memorial. So it depends on you, as on every other citizen of the Ylinoa, to regenerate your country after the example of your neighbors. For it is now 150 years during which you have been sowing wheat, and you have not yet had even the little ability to furnish your capital with that grain, in order to pay for the clothing that you are obliged to ask from it; your new neighbors, on the contrary, more industrious, more active, more vigilant than you are or ever will be, go there to seek, under your very eyes, the gold and silver which the treasures of Mexico are obliged to lavish in order to serve as exchange for all the wants of your capital. Do they, like you, call to their aid the deer's back to supply them with bread? In truth, Messieurs the memorialists, you are blind to your own interests when you abandon the branch [of industry that is] certain of prosperity, to run after the exchanges that are made with the savages.

It is useless to disprove anew the [arguments for the] system of liberty for the Indian trade for each individual in the Ylinoa. "The consumption of merchandise would be great," it is true; but the goods (or at least the greater part of them), would never be paid for, or the payment would remain in arrears, because the limits of the hunting are well known. The exploitation of the Misuri would always be the injury of the merchant, and without question would recoil upon the capital, which would have no hope of [making] its collections if the dealer who next handles the goods lacks funds to fill the gap therein.

Still again it must be repeated, "Go, draw from the lap of agriculture, which is the true property and the inexhaustible source of happiness;" for then I will listen to you. If at this time the Government, prudent and economical in the distribution of its bounties, places obstacles and hindrances to your general industry, let it be permitted to act thus from legitimate representations; but until that time you will incur derision if you establish the prosperity of the colony on the deer that runs in the woods, for whose skin you long in order to exchange it for goods which you have obtained from the capital — without being able to consume them, you say. You deceive yourselves, Messieurs the memorialists. Excuse my frankness; but I know that Monsieur so-and-so, Monsieur so-and-so, and Monsieur So-and-so go (or sometimes send) to buy goods at the capital on their credit. But Monsieur so-and-so, Monsieur so-and-so, Monsieur so-and-so, Monsieur so-and-so, Monsieur so-and-so, Monsieur so-and-so, Monsieur so-and-so, Monsieur so-and-so, Monsieur so-and-so, and Monsieur so-and-so are not farmers and do not transact business at the capital or anywhere; why, then, make demands with useless signatures? It is true they keep a tavern or a billiard-room, and that the more engagés there are dependent on you, or negroes for robbing their masters, the more their trade will be profitable and showy. But, Messieurs, enlighten me, I pray you, in regard to the reckoning of Monsieur so-and-so, Monsieur so-and-so, Monsieur so-and-so, Monsieur so-and-so, and Monsieur so-and-so; do you take them for merchants of the Ylinoa? At this place I protest, Sirs, and I openly declare to you that you confound, in a contemptible manner, qualities and titles which I believed you more capable of appreciating. In fine, of a man who is useless to society or the first comer, who has neither ability nor industry nor capacity nor talent nor reputation, you immediately make of him a man who has entrance among your select class of merchants. In this manner, Sirs, you have forgotten those who are in the woods in the pursuit of wild animals, whom equally you ought to include in your demands. Ah! I promise you on my faith that if it is necessary to use their names twice, they will take part in it with pleasure. But what the devil will you do with the signature of Monsieur so-and-so? Do you fear some colic in the contents of your memorial? And Monsieur so-and-so, with his anvil; what are you doing with him among the crowd? His signature ought without doubt to have weight, on account of his calling. On my word, I am obliged to tell you that you are sinking into dotage. Do not be offended if I am sincere; for I am only trying to make you see your error, and that in which you will involve all your readers. You see very well, Messieurs the memorialists, that it was useless to state in your memorial that your invested funds "remain shut up in your warehouses, and that everything is ruined and damaged." Another time, give currency to the truth in a manner more shrewd and adroit, if you wish people to have confidence in it. Take care, then; for if you continually deceive yourselves it will become necessary to stop believing you.

Have the goodness, Messieurs the memorialists, not to speak of the farmers of your Ylinoa; for they are slothful enough in general, not to produce enough for their own living. You all know it, Sirs; why deceive [yourselves]? So let the farmer take pattern by his neighbors on the opposite band of the Misisipy; he will see their fields producing hemp and flax in abundance; he will see the sheep bounding to offer each year its fleece to its master, in order to shelter him from the inclemencies of climate; he will see the wheat waving at the will of the breeze which tosses it, and promising the farmer a rich harvest, which he conveys, much to your shame, into your own capital, where your treasures from Mexico were kept. Is this branch of prosperity prohibited to your farmers? Answer me, Messieurs the memorialists.

Why do you, Sirs, who have drawn up the memorial, bring the public upon the scene? You confound the farmer with the merchant, and the merchant with the trader, while each calling has its separate industry. The success of the farmer depends on his plow; that of the merchant depends on his activity in supplying the market of his capital city at times when it is in need of abundance, in order to reap with interest all the advantage of a well-calculated speculation. The trader, who is born and naturally lives in the [*word uncertain*] ought to be devoted to the exchanges which are made with the savage tribes, with suitable precautions for the interests and the tranquillity of the tribes, which ought to be kept in ignorance and in subordination by all gentle means, such as continual presents to attach them to us. The Indian trade, in order to conduct it according to the wishes of the Government, can belong to only a very few persons. Besides, one must be glad to be able to make sacrifices and act liberally in their behalf; otherwise, there are no connections, no attachment, and no friendship for you. If it ever occurs that the Government shall become weary of possessing its territory, it has only to give up its Misuri to a general freedom of trade. Then the English will soon be the masters of that region, and the Government will have the misfortune of seeing its possessions there taken away from it, through having listened to the demands which are hostile not only to the safety of His Majesty's possessions, but even to local prosperity. In view of the effeminacy, idleness, the sloth of nearly all your Ylinoa people, it is probable that all your young men would allow themselves to be drawn into the foul voluptuousness of the tribes (among whom it has advanced at rapid pace), in order to find there a shameful mode of existence in a dissolute life. This would be so many hands the less for agriculture in the next generation, for which the Government ought always to provide. It might well be desired, Sirs, for the advantage of each individual that there had been no Indian trade; perhaps in that case agriculture would have made the progress that it ought to have attained in these many years. But consider, Sirs, that at the extremities of the rampart which defines your boundaries the Government must be vigilant with the savage tribes, and with them embrace all politic means which must tend to dissipate the fears that result from the ambitious desires of your neighbors. You are very lavish in erronous speculations, Sirs; but it is necessary to know how to reserve something for the future, and not to dissipate in imaginary calculations a prosperity which the Government is under obligation to preserve for your coming generations.

Ah! Messieurs the memorialists, for the present moment you are declaiming against your own actions and against yourselves. You have without doubt forgotten that in the year 1794 all those who are assuming the title of "merchants to the Illinois," in whose number you, Sirs, are, formed an assembly under the auspices of Don Zenon Trudeau, formerly Lieutenant-Governor of your Upper Louisiana, in order to obtain from the general Government the exclusive right of discoveries on the Upper Misuri, in order to carry on the Indian trade there during twelve consecutive years. You have, moreover, forgotten the general Government — which kindly obtained from His Majesty the ratification of your claims, by a decree which exists in your archives. What gratitude did you return to the zeal of the Government to be useful to you? It saw all those who have at this time signed your memorial hand in their resignations to the manager of that very company, in the fear of incurring much expense and making little profit; and that same manager was obliged to depend upon new stockholders to support the enterprise of discovering the tribes permitted by His Majesty. And you dare to present yourselves before the Government to demand favors, after having betrayed and deceived it with impunity! It is for those same stockholders to implore the kindness of the Government to sustain them by some lucrative means in the expenses and repeated losses which they must continually experience — and to which they submit with docile zeal to render themselves useful to the success of a discovery which may become important for the future — and not for you, Messieurs the memorialists, who have feared to sacrifice your own interests for the prosperity of future generations, in return for which course you would have the Government sacrifice its political views for your benefit. You are straying from the path of reason. Remember the immense losses which have been incurred by this same Company for the Upper Misury, when, going among the tribes below, with equipments which were plundered, they gave the law to vessels and forbade them to go any farther, under penalty of death. How many presents has it not been necessary to promise for the future, and how many has it not been necessary to give to the very savages among whom you would desire that all the whites should have freedom to thrust themselves in! Ah! they are already sufficiently wicked, without giving them masters to teach them to be worse. To hear you speak, Sirs, it would appear that the Indian trade of the Misuri is the general key to your prosperity; you have, notwithstanding, only five different tribes there, and outside of the Misury you have five times as many of them, with whom every individual can trade without hindrance, because they are not, like the tribes of the Misuri, on the routes which lead to Mexico. Believe me, then, Sirs, the Government is wise not to permit every one to rush in there. There is another reason, Sirs, against which the Company of the Upper Misuri would cry out if this regulation were changed; it is the danger of continually seeing their expeditions stopped, cut off, and plundered by the tribes of the Lower Misuri, if these latter did not remain dependent for receiving the things they need on those very stockholders who are risking their fortunes and their credit in order to go exploring. I conclude by telling you, Messieurs the memorialists, that it would have been quite in the order of things to have not excluded you from partnership in the privileged commerce that was granted by His

Majesty; and that you would, like the actual stockholders, have borne the losses that the Company has suffered every year on the Upper Misuri, and would equally have profited by the mediocrity of the advantages that are furnished by the trade of the Lower Misuri — which His Excellency Baron de Carondelet believed must necessarily be granted to some proprietors, in order to facilitate the passage of the company's supplies. But you, Sirs, have tried to select the business of the trade; that is not just. Remember that the savages have plundered on the Misuri, at the instigation of the English, four complete expeditions of this same Company, which amount to considerable sums; and that it needs many years and great success to restore to the level the funds which have supplied this enterprise. Do you not know, Sirs, that if the Company should unfortunately cease to procure for the tribes of the Upper Misuri the necessary articles to which they are accustomed, the English would not delay to overrun that country again, by way of Hu[d]son Bay and Lake Onepik[4] — to which the river of the Osseniboines,[5] which falls into the lake, approaches exceedingly close. You know, Sirs, the contest of Sie[u]r Evans, agent of the Company, in 1796 to cause the British flag to be lowered among the Mandan tribe, when he caused that of His Catholic Majesty to be hoisted, while on his expedition to find the Western Sea. In this the English were repulsed, with the aid of the Savage tribes, who fromt hat hour acknowledged the standard of His Majesty, by means of the presents which the Company carried to them in order to secure their friendship and affection — in the expense of which, Messieurs the memorialists, you would have been obliged to share in order to be somewhat justified in your demands. Believe me, Sirs, believe me; leave the political administration of the Misuri to the wisdom of the Government; and if you positively will make your industry stagnate in the traffic confined to savages, take flight among the tribes of Upper Louisiana who surround you, and you will find there the means to display your talents. For the Government, far from ever having placed any obstacle in your way, has, on the contrary, favored your enterprises with all its power; but you would rather leave the usufruct of them to the foreigner who comes from five hundred leagues away to despoil you, without saying a word. Doubtless, that does not please you, because there is no hindrance to it on the part of the Government; but if the latter wishes you to do a thing, it has only to oppose it, and I will stake my head that by the next day you begin to cry, "An attempt against our rights!" Believe me, Sirs; undertake to incite the farmers — whose name you sometimes utter without knowing what the qualifications of one are — to plow deep furrows, and you will find there the treasure that you desire; and then you will be convinced of the wisdom of my opinion.

---

[4] Lake Winnepeg.

[5] Osseniboine.

XCVI

ACCOUNTS OF DON PEDRO FOUCHER AS COMMANDANT OF NEW MADRID, FOR CONSTRUCTION OF FORT CELESTE

General Archives of the Indies, Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

Synopsis:]

The Commandant-General of Luisiana reports favorably a request of the half-pay Captain Don Pedro Foucher that His Majesty will be pleased to ordain that the Royal Treasury there shall accept in his accounts the book and proofs of claim which he will present in default of the documents and vouchers which were destroyed in the fire of December 8, 1794, and which secured to him the pension of 40 pesos a month which was granted to him by a Royal order of January 29, 1790, as Commandant and founder of the Post of Nuevo Madrid.

Letter:]

Most Excellent Sir: The half-pay Captain in the army, Don Pedro Foucher, sets forth in the annexed memorial that in the fire which occurred in this city on December 8, 1794, he lost the documents and vouchers of the accounts which he was drawing up for the royal treasury, for the time when he was Commandant of Nuevo Madrid—for the construction of which fort, and the settlement of the post there, he was commissioned by this Government in July, 1789. That commission he fulfilled with much judgment and zeal, up to September, 1791, in virtue of which he solicits that His Majesty will deign to command that this chief accountancy of the army, to which he is ready to render his accounts, shall accept in lieu of the vouchers for them, which were consumed by the fire, the book in which they are compiled, the legality of which is proved in due form; and that His Majesty will be pleased to order at the same time that he be paid the allowance of forty pesos a month which, by royal order of January 29, 1790, His Majesty deigned to allot to him, from the day of his arrival at the said post of Nuevo Madrid until he completed his commission. As all that the petitioner sets forth is correct, I consider him entitled to the favor which he asks, and request that Your Excellency will deign to obtain it from His Majesty.

May God preserve Your Excellency many years. Nueva Orleans, April 30, 1797. Most excellent Sir,

THE BARON DE CARONDELET (with a rubric).

Addressed: "To His Excellency Don Juan Manuel Alvarez."

Foucher's memorial:]

SIR: Don Pedro Foucher, a half-pay Captain in the army, a resident in this capital, at the royal feet of Your Majesty declares with the most profound respect, as follows: That he was detailed by the Governor-General of these provinces in July, 1789, for the construction, foundation, and command of the fort at Nuevo Madrid, on the upper part of the Misisipi; and on his return to this place in September, 1791, he delivered the documents and vouchers for his accounts relating to the said commission to Don Francisco Gutierrez de Arroyo, an official of this chief accountancy of the army, in order that he might record them in the method followed in his office (with which the deponent was not acquainted). Don Francisco, as he was not able to carry this out, passed on the accounts to Don Manuel de Almirez, also an official of the said accountancy, so that the latter might attend to them; and I went to Natchez with a commission for affairs of your royal service. No more was it possible for the said Almirez to classify the aforesaid documents, during the many months while they remained in his hands; and, with the same intention [as that of Don Francisco], he sent them to Don Juan Bautista Bermudez, a clerk in the general royal storehouse of this place, who after a long time suspended the work that had been begun on them — declaring that in order to finish them he was obliged to await from Havana the new models [of account-keeping], as orders had been given to the bureau of accounts there to follow these, in order to secure the same system in all the accounts of the royal exchequer. Meanwhile the said Bermudez returned to the petitioner his said papers or vouchers, excepting the reports of rations furnished to the soldiers who garrisoned the said fort; and these latter remained at the accountancy, so that by having them there the allowance for their amounts might be duly made to the regiment. The deponent carefully kept his papers in a cabinet in the dwelling-house of his father-in-law, Don Estevan Bauri, a resident of this city, with whom he lived, but they were reduced to ashes, along with the said dwelling and all that it contained, by the destructive fire which occurred here on December 8, 1794, and nothing was left of the said documents except the book of daily entries, in which the petitioner set down the items of the payments which he made for materials and hand labor for the construction of the above-mentioned fort, and two receipts which lay between the leaves of the said book. The preservation of these was due to an accident; for they had been carried a few days before to the country estate of the petitioner's said father-in-law, in order to make from the book a memorandum of the expenses incurred in the said work, for which the Governor-General of these provinces had asked the deponent.

The truth of all that is here related, and of the energy and diligence displayed by the petitioner for the most speedy arrangement and presentation of the said accounts of his, is evident, and proved in due legal form, by the attestations of the present Governor and Intendant of these provinces — respect for whom was urged by the relator, to the end that it might stimulate the said persons entrusted [with the accounts] to the prompt disposal of them. Those persons have declared the same in judicial form, admitting that the aforesaid documents, delivered to them by the petitioner, had all the requisites, as being legitimate and lawful, for his entire acquittance [from his commission], giving him credit for the exactness, thoroughness, and uprightness with which he conducted the said commission — as is proved by the testimony, recently taken, which accompanies the attestations of the said high officials, and by the judicial inquiry made in regard to it at the instance of the deponent.

Although the petitioner has, in consequence of this full exoneration of him from blame for the delay in arranging his accounts, and the burning of the documents proving [his claims], requested that the aforesaid book — the items in which are similarly authenticated by the declarations of the witnesses who were present at the said payments and signed [receipts for them], as appears from the said testimony annexed — be accepted as a substitute and equivalent for his vouchers, his claim has not yet been admitted, on the ground that authority for this belongs exclusively to the bureau of accounts, to which were referred the reports of the rations furnished by the deponent.

The delay which is usually experienced by those who have recourse to the said bureau — without doubt, caused by the accumulation of business which occupies its time — and the anxiety with which the relator desires to settle, as promptly as possible, a matter which despite his efforts has been so delayed (sometimes by the aforesaid accidents, sometimes by the indispositions which he has suffered as a result of the said commission and of the later ones which he executed, by order of this Government, in directing the work on the forts of Placamines and Tombecbé, which have broken his health), place him under the necessity of asking for the retirement from your service, which he has obtained. These reasons [also] constrain him to bring the said request before the clemency of Your Majesty, trusting that when the truthful and just reasons for it are considered you will deign to command that this chief accountancy of the army, to which he is ready to render his accounts, shall accept in lieu of the documents proving his claims, which were consumed in the fire, the aforesaid book in which they are set down, and the legitimacy of which is proved in legal form. Will Your Majesty be pleased to order at the same time that payment be made to the relator of the allowance of forty pesos a month which Your Majesty, by royal order dated January 28, 1790, deigned to allot him from the day of his arrival at the aforesaid post of Nuevo Madrid until he completed the duty entrusted to him, an allowance that has been kept back from him on account of the involuntary delay in his accounts.

Therefore:

He humbly entreats Your Majesty that in consideration of what is here set forth, and of the merits acquired by the relator in about nineteen years in which he has had the honor of serving Your Majesty — as a volunteer carabineer, from May, 1778, until July 1, 1780, when he purchased a commission as sub-Lieutenant of the infantry regiment of this province, in which rank he made the campaigns of Manchak, Baton Rouge, Movila, and Pansacola, having always discharged his duty to the satisfaction of his respective superiors — Your Majesty will deign to grant him the aforesaid favor. He expects that it will be thus, from the liberal disposition of Your Majesty, whose precious life may God extend through many years, as He can. Nueva Orleans, March 31, 1797. Sir,

PEDRO FOUCHER (with a rubric).[1]

---

[1] In 1813 he with others signed a bond to indemnify Gen. Villeré for the sum of $10,000 which he had to borrow for the safety and defense of the state in case the legislature should refuse to appropriate money to pay that amount. In 1814 he was a member of the committee of Public Defense of New Orleans.

Sir: Whatever the petitioner has stated here is correct, and I consider it proper for the goodness of Your Majesty to grant him the favor which with just ground he asks. Your Majesty will decide what shall suit your royal pleasure. Nueva Orleans, April 30, 1797.

The Baron de Carondelet (with a rubric).

Testimony of the proceedings instituted by Captain Don Pedro Foucher upon his request that the accounts of the commission with which he was charged, of the work on the fort of Nuevo Madrid, might be admitted from the book of daily entries which he kept for this purpose, on account of his vouchers having been burned in the fire of December 8, 1794.

Pedro Lemieux[2] y Santhiago Cuture,[3] contractors for the clearing of about sixty arpents [*arpanes*] of land for the erection of this fort and a space around it for its defense: We have received from the lieutenant and Commandant of the said fort and its district, Don Pedro Foucher, the sum of seven hundred pesos fuertes, on which we had agreed [with him] for the said work. And in order that this may be certain, and be of use to him as security and credit in the reckoning for his management of that work, we give the present, in the presence of the witnesses, who sign for us, as we cannot write. Nuevo Madrid, November 15, 1790.

Witnesses: Francisco Rodriguez
José Carriére

(It is seven hundred pesos which Señor Foucher owes on running account.)

	Pesos
By having sawed the lumber, made the frame and roof, and laid the lower floor of one house	700
By having sawed the lumber and made the roof for the barracks	300
By having made and planted the palisades for the fort	2,500
By repairing the roof of a kitchen, and for six hand-barrows.	6
By repairs on the storehouse, and on six beef-barrels	3
By nine days' board for Juan Jelin.	3
By having built a small storehouse	15
By 12 piles sawed into boards	9

[2] From Kaskaskia.

[3] From Vincennes.

By 20 strips of batten	2
By 1,500 shingles, at eight pesos a hundred [*sic*]	12
Paid to Joel Baker and Mrs. Sarah Smithing	10
	3,560

Received the amount of the above account, on the twenty-first of May in [the year] one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one.

(Signed)

Witnesses:
AARON DAY.
ROBERT MCCAY
P. DEROCHE

I, Don Juan Jose Duforest, interpreter for His Catholic Majesty, attest the preceding translation, conformably to the original account in English, annexed [to this], as correctly and faithfully made, according to my certain knowledge and understanding, without injury to the parties. And in order that it may be evident, I sign it at Nueva Orleans, on the ninth of January, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two. JUAN JOSEF DUFOREST.

SEÑOR GOVERNOR-GENERAL: Don Pedro Foucher, a Captain in the regiment of infantry stationed in this place, with due respect to Your Lordship declares: That as you were pleased to commission him, in February of one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two, to go to repair and enlarge the works of the fort of San Estevan at Tombecbe, the relator made a verbal representation to Your Lordship of his desire to hand in, before his departure, his accounts relating to the construction, foundation, and commandancy of the fort at Nuevo Madrid, which was placed in his charge, which documents he had delivered, many months before, to Don Francisco Gutierrez de Arroyo, an official of this chief accountancy of the army, with the intention that he should draw up the said accounts according to the proper method, which the petitioner could not do, as he was ignorant of it. Your Lordship was pleased to reply that it was necessary for the relator to set out immediately, leaving the presentation of the said accounts until his return; and Your Lordship promised to use your great influence for the prompt settlement of the accounts. In spite of this, his occupations would not allow the said Arroyo to do this, and, as he was sent to Natchez by Your Lordship during the absence of the relator, the latter, when he returned at the end of a year, found his said documents in the possession of Don Manuel Armirez, another of the officials of the said accountancy, to whom Arroyo had delivered them with the commission to put the said accounts in order; and the relator urged him to push on the work, without further delay. As soon as he came back from the fort at Placaminas — to which, on account of the death of Captain Don Luis Bertucal, Your Lordship sent him, in order to continue the direction of the works there — and he had recuperated from the illness which he contracted at that place, he was able again to urge that his accounts be settled, and had recourse to the favor of Don Juan Ventura Morales, Accountant-elect of His Majesty for the army and royal treasury of these provinces, entreating him to interpose his authority with Armirez to despatch his accounts. But as his continual cares did not give Armirez leisure for the said work, and he was frequently urged by the petitioner to hasten it, he sent the said documents for this purpose to Don José Bermudez, a clerk of the royal storehouses here; and the latter, after a long time, and repeated requests to hasten the work, finally gave as excuse for his delay that, having begun the work on them, he was obliged to suspend it until the arrival of the models [of book-keeping] which they were expecting from the bureau of accounts in Havana, in the new method which the bureau had ordered to be followed in systematizing [all] the accounts. For this reason the petitioner took back his documents — except the reports of rations [furnished], which, as he has stated, were in the chief accountant's office — and placed them in his cabinet in the house of his father-in-law, Don Estevan Baure. But as this house was entirely destroyed, with all that it contained, in the fire which this city suffered on the eighth of December last, without anything having been saved from it on account of all the family being absent at their country house (as is well known), the said documents were destroyed, excepting the day-book, in which the relator set down all the items of expense occasioned not only by the said fortification, but by provisions for its garrison, with the corresponding receipts from the persons to whom he made payments therefor. This book the relator kept in the said country-house, for the reason that, as he made his usual residence in it, he was obliged to carry the book there in order to obtain from the memoranda in it the information which, at Your Lordship's verbal order, he presented to you of the cost of the said fort, the relator needing the book in order to make evident the truth of all that he had written, in proof of the zeal, exactness, and integrity which have merited for him the confidence of his superiors. He entreats that Your Lordship will be pleased to give him your honored attestation of the accuracy of the abovementioned points, in whatever is clear to Your Lordship; I trust to obtain it from the well-known uprightness and justice of Your Lordship. Nueva Orleans, the twelfth of February, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five.

Decree; Pedro Foucher:]

All that the petitioner states in regard to his commissions I know to be correct. It is also certain that he delivered the documents that he mentions, for drawing up his accounts, to the official of this accountancy, Don Francisco Gutierrez Arroyo; nor do I doubt that the latter, not having accomplished this task, entrusted it to Don Manuel Armirez and Don José Bermudez[4] in succession. It is also certain that the fire of December eighth in the past year consumed the house of his father-in-law, Don Estevan Baure — from which nothing was saved, as the house was shut up and the family were all at their farm. In order that this may be evident, I thus attest it. Nueva Orleans, the fourteenth day of February, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five. The BARON DE CARONDELET.

Don Juan Bautista Morales, royal official of America, and appointed by His Majesty chief accountant of the army and royal treasury for this province: In the best form which I can and should use, I certify that for about two years Don Pedro Foucher, captain in the regiment stationed in Luisiana, has manifested to me a great desire to complete the account of the property and funds belonging to His Majesty which he has had in his keeping and which he distributed while he was commandant of the post of Nuevo Madrid; and in order to obtain this more promptly he asked me to speak to Don Manuel Gonzalez Armirez, an official in the chief accountancy of the army, in whose possession were the documents which must serve as vouchers for the said account, that he might tabulate it in the proper order, to the end that it might be settled as soon as possible. Having actually discussed this subject with the said Armirez, his reply left in my mind no doubt that he had in his possession the aforesaid papers, and that, as they were arranged in order, he saw no difficulty in drawing up the said account, which he promised me to despatch as quickly as the business in the accountant's office would permit. This promise he was unable to fulfil, as he afterward explained to me, because the duties of his office had increased to such an extent that they left him only such leisure as was indispensable for rest; and he found himself obliged to return the papers to the said Captain. And in order that the above may be evident, and may accomplish such results as occasion may offer, at his request I give the present, at Nueva Orleans, on the twenty-third of February, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five.

---

[4] Was he the ancestor of Edward Bermudez who in 1891 was Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Louisiana?

Juan Ventura Morales.

[The remainder of this document contains notarial attestations, depositions, and other specimens of "red tape," all connected with this claim of Foucher, which are of little importance to most students of these papers, and can be found by referring to the Spanish text. The following is the only one which contains new or valuable information:]

Memorandum of costs in these decrees copied for Don Pedro Foucher, Captain, of Luisiana, regarding his accounts with the royal treasury, composed of twenty leaves, in the following form:

	Reals.
To Señor Don Francisco Rendon, former Intendant of this province, fourteen reals for five half-signatures and one whole one	14
To the Licentiate Don Manuel Serrano, General Counselor of the Intendancy, sixteen reals for counselor's fees on nineteen leaves	16
To Don Juan Ventura Morales, Accountant and Fiscal of the royal treasury, twenty reals for writing eighteen	20
To the notary for his fees for work done, one hundred and forty reals	140
To the appraiser, for this [memorandum]	8
	198

Nueva Orleans, the tenth of May, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six.

Luis Listau.

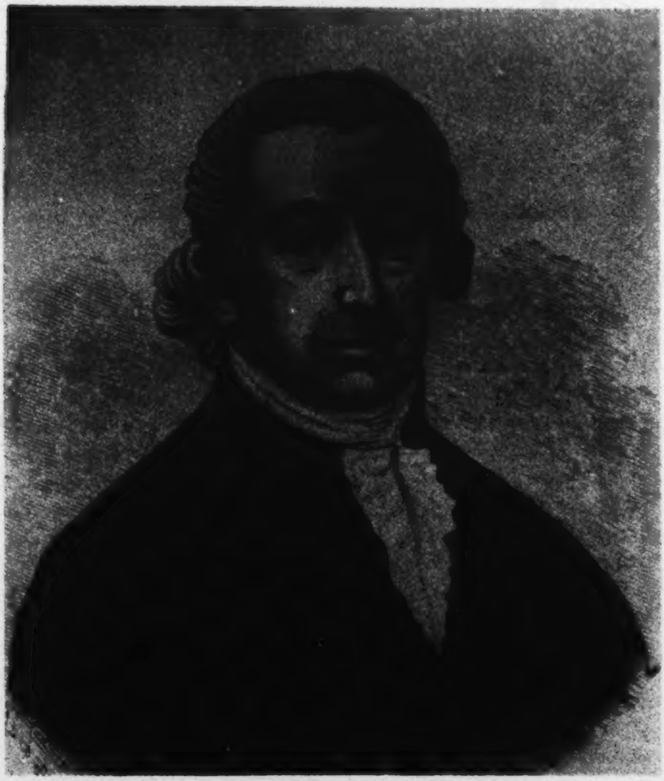
XCVII

THE SENIOR COLONEL DON CARLOS HOWARD, 1797

General Archives of the Indies, Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, Brigadier of the Royal armies, Governor-General, Royal Vice-Patron of the provinces of Luisiana and West Florida, Inspector of the veteran troops and the militia of the provinces, etc.

I certify that the Lieutenant-Colonel of the Infantry Regiment of Luisiana, Don Carlos Howard, was commissioned by my predecessor, Baron de Carondelet, to evacuate with the greatest secrecy and promptness the fort of San Fernando de Barrancas because of the well-founded fears that he had of the Americans and of the opposition of the Indians in the fulfilment of the treaty of friendship, navigation, and boundaries, concluded between His Majesty and the United States of America. He performed that trust with so great nicety, accuracy, and promptness that, in the exact period of a fortnight he evacuated and razed the said fort, after taking out the war supplies, arms, and ammunition which were in it. He established opposite the fortified camp of La Esperanza in which he had erected two blockhouses. Then he went to Ylinoa, five hundred leagues from this city, to restrain the invasion which was feared from the English district, and to drive the English from the posts which they have erected upon the Misury River by virtue of the royal order of the Minister of State, communicated to this Government — namely, to take such precautions, and to clinch and attract the loyalty of those inhabitants and of the barbarous tribes of Indians of Upper Luisiana on the frontiers next the possessions of Great Britain and the American states. Having, moreover, special charge to watch the movements of the troops of those countries, in order that they might not take possession of these posts until the time fixed by this general Government, yet, because of having to attend to the tranquillity and the security of the settlements of Upper Luisiana and to watch the movements of the Americans, he could not accomplish the attack on the English posts of the Misury, he was able, by his affable treatment, exact discipline, and excellent and disinterested conduct,



Manuel Gayoso de Lemos

to root deeply in those remote settlements, love and loyalty for our sovereign, and made them ready to repel with spirit any attack of the enemy. He conciliated the special affection of the Indians, even of those living within the English and American possessions, so that they themselves guard the upper waters of the river. He issued measures in order to cut off clandestine trade on the Upper Misisipi. He watched firmly and earnestly over the interests of the Crown, keeping in sight the American detachment of three hundred men, who entered the Misisipi River with artillery to take possession of the posts which must be evacuated to the command of Captain Don Isaac Guion. Finally, he has responded in all the affairs which have been entrusted to his care by my predecessor as well as by myself, and to the confidence of the Government. He has given proof not at all equivocal of his military talent, accuracy in command, disinterestedness, exactness, and great zeal for the service. And in order that this may stand forth, I give the present signed by my hand, sealed with the seal of my arms, and countersigned by the undersigned honorary Commissary of war and Secretary for His Majesty of this general Government in Nueva Orleans, December twenty-eight, one thousand seven hundred and ninety seven.

MANUEL GAYOSO DE LEMOS[1] (rubric).

---

[1] Manuel Gayoso de Lemos was educated in England and Lieutenant Pope says "brought up at the Court of London." He entered the Spanish army and attained the rank of brigadier-general. He was commandant of Natchez and was appointed one of the commissioners of Spain to fix the boundary between Florida and the United States, Andrew Ellicott being the commissioner of the United States. In 1797 he succeeded Carondelet as governor of Louisiana. While governor he was engaged in a bitter conflict with the Intendant Morales, and which only ended with his death. He died in 1799 at the age of 48 years. He was of a convivial disposition and his death was attributed to dissipation. Pope says that he was a man of "majestic deportment, softened by manners the most engaging and polite." He died poor, a circumstance which would indicate that he was not directly or indirectly interested in trade speculations as most of the other Spanish officers high and low of Louisiana. In the intrigue to separate the western states from the Union he acted as the representative of the Spanish governors. He visited New Madrid and the mouth of the Ohio, where he erected a temporary fort at what is now known as Bird's Point. He was a perfect master of the English language, and while at Natchez married a Miss Watts, a daughter or one of the Anglo-American pioneers of Mississippi. He founded Natchez, the land being purchased and the town laid out under his direction. Various public improvements in the town were commenced or executed under his orders. On his plantation, two miles below Natchez, he built a famous house known as "Concord," and much of the material in this mansion was brought directly from Spain. This house was destroyed by fire in 1900.

XCVIII

EPISCOPAL REPORT FOR 1797

General Archives of the Indies, Seville — Audiencia of Santo Domingo, Luisiana, and Florida — Papers and Instances of parts, for the years 1789-1797; Estante 86; Cajón 7; Legajo 25.

[The Bishop of Luisiana encloses the report, relation, and account of the ecclesiastical visit which he has made in his diocese, in a letter dated February 16, 1797, addressed to Don Eugenio Llaguno y Amisola, and signed "Luis, Bish[illegible] of Luisiana."]

In the duplicate of a letter to the King, dated February 15, 1797, and evidently enclosed to the same as the preceding, the Bishop speaks as follows:]

SIRE:

One of the chief obligations of the episcopal minister is the visit of his diocese. In three trips that I have made, I have gone through 16 parishes of the 24 of which all Luisiana and the Floridas are comprised.

The report which I have the honor to enclose to Your Majesty; the relation made by order of His Holiness, Benedict 13, in the Roman Synod for the year 1725, which was ordered to be observed by royal decree of July 1, 1770; and the subjoined testimony. These give minute details of the visit.

I thought best not to delay this information until concluding the visit of the 8 parishes still unvisited, for the delay would prove harmful, since there is an urgent need of ministers. It is necessary to take advantage of the seasons for traveling here. Next spring, I shall make the visit of Pansacola and Movila, and that of East Florida. Never without the permission of Your Majesty is it necessary to go to Havana and to leave the diocese. I have created [the parishes of] San Carlos and Akansas this year, and the three remaining, San Luis, Santa Genoveva, and Nuevo Madrid, I have not had time to visit since I have been here, and these are necessarily extraordinary [i. e., it will require extraordinary efforts to visit them].

. . . .

[In the "Report of the Curacies of the Diocese of Luisiana" the Bishop has the following entries]:[1]

	Cities	Towns	Parishes	Churches	Monasteries	Hospitals	Seculars	Regulars	Souls
	2	2	15	2	1	4	14	14	43,087

San Luis de Ylinneses Santa Genoveva Nuevo Madrid	Parishes to visit.

---

[1] See Gayarré's History of Louisiana for a discussion of ecclesiastical affairs under the Spanish domination.

The Bishop was very apprehensive of the Americans. He wrote a letter in 1799 in which he gave expression to this fear. He says: "The emigration from the Western part of the United States and the toleration of our Government have introduced into this colony a gang of adventurers who have no religion and acknowledge no God, and they have made much worse the morals of our people by their coming in contact with them in their trading pursuits. . . The adventurers I speak of have scattered themselves over the districts of Attakapas, Opelousas, Ouachita and Nachitoches; they employ the Indians on their farms, have frequent intercourse and conversation with them, and impress their minds with pernicious maxims in harmony with their own restless and ambitious temper, and with the customs of their own western countrymen, who are in the habit of saying to such of their boys as are distinguished for a robust frame, whilst patting them on the shoulder: *you will be the man to go to Mexico.* Such is the case with the upper part of Mississippi, with the districts of Illinois and adjacent territory, in which there has been a remarkable introduction of those adventurers, who penetrate even into New Mexico. This evil in my opinion can only be remedied by not permitting the slightest American settlement to be made at the point already designated, nor on any part of the Rio Grande. The parishes which are religiously disposed are leaving their faith. . . . and the people turn a deaf ear to the admonitions of their clergy. It is true that the same resistance to religion has already manifested itself here, but never with such scandal as now prevails. The military officers and a good many of the inhabitants live almost publicly with colored concubines. And they do not blush at carrying the illegitimate issue they have by them to be recorded in the parochial registries as their natural children."

And from all of which it would appear that matters moral and religious were not so much better in the past than at present.

XCIX

CHURCH AT ST. LOUIS — 1798

General Archives of the Indies, Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

Letter from Bishop of Louisiana:]

Under date of September 30, of the present year, Don Diego Maxwell, my vicar in Illinneses tells me the following:

"YOUR EXCELLENCY:

In accordance with the orders of your Lordship in your official communication of March 22, I have gone up to San Luis to examine the condition of the church of said post. I found it in a very critical situation. Not only is it too small for the village, but its timbers are rotted, and it cannot be kept from falling into ruin. Consequently, it is no slight danger for the parishioners to enter it. I agreed with the parish priest and the Commandant that the two engineers of His Royal Catholic Majesty who are there should draw up plans for a new church, and estimate the necessary cost of constructing it. The Commandant has promised me to send the plan and estimate to me in order that I may send it to Your Illustrious Lordship. But he has written me on the 26th of this month, to the effect that he has received governmental orders to make a plan which he is to send to the Commandant-General, so that it may be sent to the King. Your Illustrious Lordship is able to ascertain whether such an order has been sent. If so it may retard the matter so greatly that the village will be left without a church in which to hear mass, and the parish priest without power to administer the sacraments decently. The present edifice has a fund of 1,213 pesos, but no fixed income."

If Your Lordship has received the plan and estimate, I deserve (?) that you tell me whether any resolution has been taken in regard to this particular.

Only by a special grace, and no more, His Majesty will contribute one third of the cost for the church fund [*fabrica*] of the church of San Luis, for its repair is urgent, since if it falls, and the faithful become accustomed to not attending it, it will be difficult to get them to return to the habit.

The church fund consists at present of 1,213 pesos, from which, after having taken a slight sum for the most urgent necessities, the remainder can, and even ought, to be applied to the construction of the temple, and the sum lacking to be contributed by the well-to-do inhabitants, who are obliged to support it according to the laws of these kingdoms.

Will Your Lordship please also tell me particularly what you consider fitting, so that we may agree upon the best course in this matter.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

Nueva Orleans, February 14, 1798.

LUIS, Bishop of Luisiana.[1]

Addressed: "Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos."

Letter to Miro:]

I have received with the official communication of Your Lordship, the letter of Father Fray Francisco Ledrir,[2] parish priest of this post. Having read it, and what Your Lordship orders me in said official communication, I must inform Your Lordship that in regard to the rebuilding of this church, the habitants do not refuse to do it. The majority of them, however, are not at present in condition to be able to contribute as they would like because of their poverty. But their desires to rebuild the church are excellent, notwithstanding that the existing church is not in such a poor condition that it cannot stand for some time. Yet since it is built on posts in the earth, and since the timbers rot very readily, they would desire to build it of stone, so that it may be permanent, and not need continual repairs. Then, too, the existing church is too small for the number of people in the settlement; and since in order to construct it of stone, its cost must be very great, it is this that intimidates the habitants in undertaking such a work, which, perhaps, they cannot be able to conclude as they would like because of being poor.

So far as the trade may serve as an aid in the rebuilding of the church, I believe that, by assigning the trade of two or three tribes of the Misury in order to use it for this purpose, for three or four years, there will be no lack of men to take it, and its product, without doubt, will aid greatly in the very high expenses which must be paid in money, and will, perhaps, be a reason for the habitants to resolve and make efforts to construct sometime a large church of size sufficient for the village, and of the solidity necessary to endure for many years.

---

[1] Luis Penalyver y Cardenas was a native of Havanna. In 1800 he was appointed Archbishop of Guatamala, and becoming blind resigned in 1806. He returned to Havana, where he died.

[2] Father Ledru. His real name was Jacobin. He came to St. Louis from Cahokia. See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 309.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years. San Luis de Ylinneses, November 9, 1797. MANUEL PEREZ.[3]

Addressed: "Don Estevan Miro."

---

[3] Don Manuel Perez was born at Zamora, Spain, in 1735. At the age of 18 years he entered the army, saw active service in Spain and Portugal, and came to Louisiana with O'Reilly in 1770. With Galvez he participated in the campaigns in Florida. He served 38 years and 10 months in the army and retired with the rank of lieutenant-colonel of the Louisiana regiment, as he claimed on account of ill health contracted "while commanding the settlements of the Western part of Illinois for the space of five years." See his petition for details in vol. i, p. 369-70. He married Susanne Catalina Dubois in New Orleans and died there in November, 1819, leaving four children, a son Manuel Zirilo who married Feliciana M. Tutant De Beauregard, a relative of General Beauregard, Elizabeth who married Nicolas F. D'Aunoy, Eugenia who married a Boisdarce, Rosa who married a Maxent, and Celeste who married Octave Chalon.

C

THREATENED ATTACK BY THE ENGLISH ON ST. LOUIS AND UPPER LOUISIANA — PLANS FOR DEFENSE — 1797

General Archives of the Indies, Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

Index of the representation directed on this date by the Mariscal-de-campo [*i. e.*, Field-Marshal] of the royal armies, Baron de Carondelet, Commandant-in-chief of the provinces of Luisiana and West Florida, to His Excellency, the Prince of Peace, first Secretary of State, and of its universal despatch.

Synopsis:]

By reason of the news received by the Minister of His Majesty to the Congress of the United States, Don Carlos Martinez de Yrujo, who was already instructed in part, the Governor communicates the preparations made for the defense of the settlements of Ylinoa 500 leagues from the capital, and solicits the royal approval, especially of the expenses, purpose, and pay of the Flemish engineer, Don Luis Vandenbenden, employed for his great intelligence, special talent, and reasons which he deduces, having given orders that he serve from November of last year. Nueva Orleans, April 25, 1797.

Chief Brigantine, "Theresa," Captain Holiday.

Duplicate schooner "Dorado," July 22.

NOTE: He himself took down the No. 1, with the said documents, to His Excellency, Don Juan Manuel Alvarez, Minister of War, on the same date.

Letter to Godoy:]

YOUR EXCELLENCY:

Advice having been received through Don Carlos Martinez de Yrujo, the Minister Plenipotentiary of His Majesty to the United States of America, of an expedition prepared in Canada against the settlement of Ylinoa and Upper Luisiana, I immediately directed the official communications whose copies accompany Nos. 1 and 2, to the Captain-General of Havana, and the Governor of Natchez, Brigadier Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos. By their contents, Your Excellency will see the measures determined upon in anticipation since the month of December which I have taken for the defense of those dominions of His Majesty. For I am persuaded that those domains will be attacked this spring, as I advise Your Excellency by secret correspondence No. 85. As I am ignorant as to the force of the expedition that the enemy will employ, I can form no opinion as to its results. I cannot add anything to my former arrangements either, for it takes three months at this season to ascend the Misisipi from this capital to San Luis de Ylinoa. We are also suffering the greatest scarcity of troops and money, so that in order that I may cover the most indispensable posts of this capital, I am obliged to employ thirty men daily of its batallion of militia. However, I have great confidence in the squadron of galleys commanded by experienced officers, and in the superior talent of the Flemish engineer, Don Luis Vandenbenden. I have taken the latter for the meanwhile into His Majesty's service, and have assigned him eighty pesos per month. That is a measure whose necessity has been demonstrated by the event. Since His Majesty's minister, Don Carlos Yrujo has sent by his own action, a French engineer who holds the brevet rank of Captain, for the same purpose, assigning him a pay of one hundred pesos per month, whose intelligence surely can not be superior to that of Vandenbenden who unites with his intelligence the advantage of a knowledge of the country, its location and resources; therefore I hope that Your Excellency will deign to give him equal pay and rank to those of Monsieur de Finiels, of whose arrival in Ylinoa I have not yet had any news.

I trust also in the military talents of the Lieutenant-Colonel of the Luisiana regiment, Don Carlos Howard, who commands the entire regiment, and in the zeal and firmness of Don Pedro Chouteau and Don Luis Lorimier — the first Commandant of fort Carondelet, which he has established among the Osage tribe without the least expense to the royal treasury, in order to subject it in the year 1794, and of which measure he has petitioned Your Excellency to obtain the approval of His Majesty in secret communications 35, 64, and 87. He will bring five hundred picked savages for the relief of San Luis. The second will bring about two hundred Chawanones and Abenaquis at the very least, whom since they are especially well affected [to us], he has assembled in a settlement which he has himself founded in Cavo Girardeau 40 leagues from San Luis. If the enemy determined to descend the Missisipi to said San Luis, I have no doubt that the galleys and galiots of His Majesty, protected on both banks by the savages above mentioned, will destroy their boats with their artillery. Further, since the light squadron has been ordered to ascend the river, and since all other means of defense have been taken with so great secrecy that they have not been perceived by the public as yet, it is probable that the enemy will not have made any preparations against them.

Having been informed that the negotiations concerning the treaties concluded by the United States of America with England, which annul and destroy the treaties made with Spain and France, are not concluded, as he tells me in the last part of his letter (as the one charged with the Government and defense of that province, perhaps Your Lordship finds in the danger which threatens it at present a motive to suspend the delivery to the Americans of the forts which were ceded to them in your name in the last treaty with them), I have added this new reason to the pretexts which in accordance with the royal secret order which His Excellency, the Prince of Peace, deigned to communicate October 29 last, I have made use of it to retard the evacuation of the posts of Nogales, Natchez, and Tombeebe, which we still retain in our power. But we shall find it difficult to keep them, unless the relief in men and money which I have asked from Havana from its Captain-General, be sent quickly, for we expect about 300 American troops in Natchez.

I petition Your Excellency to please obtain from His Majesty the approval of these measures, in order that I may be justified so far as the department of the royal treasury is concerned; as well as in the equipping of the privateer frigate "La Luisiana," which was done for the reasons detailed in the enclosed document No. 3.

May our Lord preserve Your Excellency's life many years.

Nueva Orleans, April 25, 1797.

El Baron de Carondelet (rubric).

Addressed: "His Excellency, the Prince of Peace."

Letter from Martinez de Yrujo:]

Dear Sir:

I have been informed by various ways that as soon as the news of the war reached Canadá, a corps of three hundred and fifty men was formed in Monte Real. It passed by way of Johnstown at the end of October, on its way to the lakes. The evacuation of the forts having been made by the English which they occupied on the American frontier, and the peace and friendship which they have with all these Indians of the frontiers, indicated immediately the project of some expedition in that part. I have since learned that several English agents have gathered information by various indirect methods concerning the condition of our settlements in San Luis de los Ylinoises and Nuevo Madrid. Finally, I have been assured that the corps formed in Monte Real was going to winter at the lakes, where other men were to be gathered together, and after forming a respectable body of men from all those Indian tribes who are their partisans, they were going to descend the Mississipi, or the river of the Ylinoises, or from Bahia Verde (or Green Bay) in Lake Michigan, and continue by the Fox River which flows into the Oiscansin[1] which empties into the Misisipi. Under such circumstances I have taken various measures, of which I am going to inform Your Lordship for your intelligence and action. You will understand that if I have taken it upon myself to do certain things which evidently belong to Your Lordship's jurisdiction and authority, it has been because of the demands of the time, the distance of Your Lordship from the threatened posts, and the difficulty of ascending the Misisipi, because of the rapidity of its current.

1st. Knowing that the rivers, by which they are intending to descend the Misisipi from Lake Michigan, are located in the territory of the United States, I have had communication with the Secretary of State, both verbally and in writing, informing him of the hostile intentions of England, and asking him to cause the territory of the United States to be respected by taking measures which they believe to be necessary for its security.

2d. I have sent a perfectly trustworthy man to the lakes, so that he may travel through that immense territory and find out whether troops are really collecting at any place, their number and quality, whether they have any artillery, its caliber, and all the other facts that may be useful.

3d. Although I am fully conversant with the military and political talents of Your Lordship, since the time we can expect this attack allows few moments of inaction, and since the difficulties are so great which are presented by the distance between San Luis de los Ylinoises and that place, and the rapid current of the Misisipi

[1] Wisconsin.

having learned from another source, through General Collot, of the weakness of that important post, and that it does not contain a single officer of engineers, so necessary in the present circumstances, I am sending a French officer named Monsieur de Finiels, who served in the engineer corps in France, to the Commandant of the above-mentioned fort. This man is a person eminent in his profession, and he has been admitted into the class of Captain in the service of the United States; but through love for the interests of his country, so intimately connected with ours at the present day, and confident of the generous kindness of His Majesty, he has offered to go to the above-mentioned fort of San Luis, as a volunteer and completely subject to the orders of the Commandant of that fort. This officer is modest, temperate, intelligent, and has all the qualities which can make him useful to us, without his political sentiments being of any danger to us. Besides the notice that he is taking to that Governor of the projected expedition of the English, he will present to the same the plan of the defense which General Collot has formed for the reasons which I have explained above and at my request. Both he and I know that the talent and activity of Your Lordship will suggest the most advisable thing, but constrained by the time I thought that we could take these measures, leaving to the Governor of San Luis the option of admitting or avoiding them, or substituting another plan, until receiving the orders from Your Lordship to whom I enclose a copy of the above-mentioned plan so that you may examine it for yourself, and place upon it the value which it merits.

4th. Proceeding in accordance with the reports of the above-mentioned General Collot, who is fully acquainted with that territory, in regard to the geographical location of the country, and the economy which the king will pursue by furnishing that fort during this exigency with provision for four or six months, not only for the garrison, but also for an entrenched camp, which can be made up of those Indians who are allied to us in those districts, I have taken upon myself to have about two thousand barrels of flour, some rice, salt meat, and some other things sent to that fort from Kentucky and Tennessee.

5th. By means of the above-mentioned officer, Monsieur de Finiels, I am sending this paper to Your Lordship, which, for the sake of greater security, I am sending in duplicate by a boat which I have freighted for that purpose.

6th. Since it could happen that Your Lordship might not possess the forces and the means sufficient to attend to the security of that vast province under your command, I have freighted another boat, so that it may immediately carry reports of everything to the Captain-General of the Island of Cuba, in order that, in view of the condition of matters, he may take for himself those measures which he considers most advisable.

Finally, Your Lordship, as the one charged by that Governor with the defense of that province, will perhaps have some reason, in the danger which threatens at present, to suspend the delivery to the Americans of the forts which were ceded to them by us in the last treaty with them.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years. Philadelphia, March 13, 1797.

Carlos Martinez de Yrujo (rubric).

Addressed: "Baron de Carondelet."

Letter from Martinez de Yrujo:]

Dear Sir:

Although Your Lordship had very well-founded reasons for arresting a man who was going to make a military examination of that Province, the papers which that French Minister has shown me, the copy of the instructions to General Collot, which I have seen, and the identity of our interests with those of France, in relation to this country, do not allow me to doubt that the object of his commission was quite other than that of being harmful to us. From any standpoint, as the attack premeditated by the English against Upper Luisiana may be a very sensible blow for France as well as for ourselves, I have had no doubt of the good faith of these agents of the French Republic in what regards this matter. Consequently, I have availed myself with confidence of their intelligence, in order to take upon myself the measures which I indicate to Your Lordship in my other letter, and which would have been left to the discernment, zeal, and activity of Your Lordship, had we not been so pressed for time, and had not the distance between the district in which Your Lordship is and the threatened points been so great. All my arrangements, as I relate to Your Lordship in the said letter, are purely peremptory, [provisional] and if time permits Your Lordship may alter them or substitute for them those which you judge necessary. For my part, I do not see that any harm can follow from them to the service of the King. The French officer, who is going to San Luis, is, as I have told Your Lordship, a man of intelligence, judgment, and temperance and principles which cannot make him at all dangerous. I have assigned him a pay of one hundred duros per month, for his support while he is occupied with this commission, with the authorization of representing to Your Lordship if this sum is not sufficient. For Collot assures me that lodgings there are very dear, and the price of the articles of prime necessity exorbitant. Will Your Lordship deign to issue the fitting orders so that he may be paid in these terms. In what concerns the provisions, if as a result of the measures which I have taken with this Government, the attempted expedition can be prevented from being realized, the food can be sent to Neuva Orleans for the supply of that garrison, thus assuring a very great economy to the royal treasury.

I hope to make easy for Your Lordship the receipt and despatch of the flour which the boat is taking, in which these papers are sent. I repeat that I am desirous of employing my services in your obedience and ask that our Lord may preserve your life many years. Philadelphia, March 13, 1797.

Carlos Martinez de Yrujo (rubric).

Addressed: "Baron de Carondelet."

[Two letters from Carondelet follow. The first is addressed to his Excellency, the Count de Santa Clara, and is dated Nueva Orleans, April 21, 1797. It gives advice of the intelligence received from Yrujo, as to the premeditated English attack on Upper Luisiana, including the sending of the French engineer in order to carry out plans for the defense of San Luis. Carondelet details the measures which he has taken for the defense of Upper Luisiana, and his scarcity of troops. A royal order suspends the evacuation of the forts which have been surrendered in the treaty lately concluded with the United States. Carondelet says: "If San Luis falls into the power of the enemy, the latter will be the masters of all Upper Luisiana, that is, from the Misuri River to California, and from the Misisipi River to Nogales." He aske the Count to send the allowance of the province quickly as well as certain money due the Luisiana treasury, and some military officers. The second letter is addressed to Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, and is dated April 24, 1797. After stating the communication received from Yrujo, he orders Gayoso to suspend the evacuation for the present. Certain orders in regard to the treatment of the American authorities are given, and, to the fortification of certain posts.]

Collot's Plans for defense:]

PLAN FOR AN ENTRENCHED CAMP AT SAN LOUIS IN YLINOA

SITUATION OF SAN LOUIS

St. Louis is located on the slope of a mound, D, which ends gradually just at the edge of the Mississippi. This mound approaches (?)[2] to the height, E, and to the little mound, F, in addition to itself, namely, this height. The space, G, in the western part of the city, is a plain accessible throughout, formed of natural prairies without trees or shelter, which [*illegible*], and which is elevated by an insensible slope towards the open country. In the southwest, is a pond, B, surrounded with heights and ravines. It is long and deep. From this pond runs a brook which flows into the Mississippi, after crossing a ravine formed by two mounds, H and I. Of these mounds, H, on the side of the open country, is the higher. The opposite side, M, to the north of the city, is open and accessible on all its front. The land slopes gently from the crest of the mound, F, to the very edge of the river. Thus, from the pond in the northwestern part to the edge of the Mississippi, the land does not offer any natural obstacle to the enemy for penetrating into the city. This space may be about 500 toises.

The roads are comfortable and easy in all the points surrounding the place, and the only natural obstacle to the movements of the enemy is found in the southern part of the city, from the pond, B, to the river. From this side the heights, L and 12, dominate a portion of the mound which forms the embankment of the brook, A. A miserable fort with four small narrow and poorly placed bastions, formed by a row of palisades, in order to sustain the lands, already occupies this plateau, E. A large detached bastion invested with a wall of cut stone twelve feet high and two and one half feet thick, with large embrasures, without ditch or palisades, is erected in the northern part of the city, of which it covers the whole front as far as the river. Its face and left flanks also cover the western part of the city, but abandoned to its own defense, which is *nil;* all this fine show of fires becomes quite useless, for the enemy will march directly on its face and right flank, and will take it sword in hand by assault in order to penetrate into the city. Then their fire directed on fort 1 destroys it in an instant, and the fort falls of itself. Hence, these two important points are so wretchedly occupied that they can have only the necessary time for the enemy to approach bastion 2 and to turn their artillery on fort 1. After this rapid survey of the means of defense is presented, it is only the question of considering the most suitable and fitting.

---

[2] Words or passages queried are conjectural readings rendered necessary by probable errors in transcription.

FIRST PLAN

The plateau, E, having a capacity suitable for the erection of a work susceptible of a good defense by itself, and having, moreover, the advantage of dominating all the city and of commanding a large part of the surrounding country, one could concentrate there all the defense by occupying on it at all the points, L and 12, which dominate it, and without causing any anxiety of leaving the city open.

The fort numbered 1 on the plan will fill this bill perfectly. Part 2 of the plateau shall be occupied by a redoubt in front with its glacis sustained by a good communication in order to defend the reverses on a part of the slope of the plateau and on the front of the fort. A consequent work should be built on L, by which one would bind its defense with that of the principal fort. A battery would be planted at the point 12, and these works would be surrounded with an abatis, 22 and 23. Battery 2 would be removed, for it would only harm this plan of defense, without being able to be of any aid to it.

The importance of the city of St. Louis, situated near the mouth of the Missouri, and which may be regarded as the key of Upper Louisiana, demands perhaps that this precaution be taken sooner or later.

SECOND PLAN

The plateau, E, shall be occupied by earthworks in accordance with the principal enclosures of fort 1, traced on the plan, or its capacity will be diminished, and the demi-lune and the open road will be suppressed.

The fort shall be surrounded by a long, deep ditch masked by a small glacis palisaded in two rows. The parapet of the work shall be fraised, following the profile closely.

Battery 2 shall be placed in barbette surrounded with a good ditch, with a small palisaded glacis, an open road, and some stations [*places d'armes*] indispensable in order to procure a cross fire. From its gorge, a line of redan earthworks, 8, 8, shall be constructed, protected by a ditch and palisaded glacis, quite to the edge of the Mississippi. The houses, 21, which are found behind this line, may be placed in a state of defense with slight expense and quickly. If they are built of stone or brick they will be a strong defense for this line.

In the bastion, 2, shall be placed only the cannon [with a caliber of] 6, so that if it is carried [by the enemy], its artillery may not be used advantageously against that of the fort, 1, in which will be some pieces of 24, which shall immediately be engaged in destroying it [if it is captured].

The knolls, 6 and 7, shall be razed. It is useless to think of fortifying them.

Earthworks, 3, 4, and 5 shall be raised, and all this system of posts shall be protected by a general abatis, 20, 20, ½ [*sic*, in copy; *sc.*, etc.].

In the southern part, there shall be made across the embankment of the brook, A, the earth dikes 13, 14, 15, 16, 17. In order to procure an inundation along the whole length of this embankment, these dikes shall be supported by the bonnets, 9, 10, 11, and 12, and their summits shall be covered with trees in the form of an abatis, so that they may not be used as a passage by the enemy.

If time permits, the dike shall be extended in the manner of a redan, 18, as it is portrayed on the plan, and it shall be made like that of the opposite side of the city, numbered, 8, 8. The houses, 21, of this side shall also be placed in a state of defense, in order to arrest the enemy in case that they should have crossed the inundated place. The places 3, 4, and 5 shall be examined to see whether they embrace too large an extent of land; for the more parceled out is the defense the more difficult it will be to give it the arrangement and general effect necessary for its success, especially when there are neither troops inured to war or disciplined, nor officers experienced in this exercise.

In this supposition, these three posts, or at least Nos. 4 and 5, could be suppressed, and an abatis formed, such as that dotted and numbered 22, joining the great abatis to the point C, and continuing it thence according to the design, to the banks of the Mississippi. This position would be a very respectable one under the cross fire of the two forts, 1 and 2, as well as by the houses of the two forts, 1 and 2, and could besides be supported by the houses, 22 and 21, which are themselves protected by the forts.

The construction of 2 or 3 works would be avoided, and the men that they would require could be advantageously distributed among the other posts. But one would think No. 3 [3] indispensable, because of the great interval between redoubts 1 and 2.

Fort 1 could be furnished with 15 pieces of cannon, of the calibers of 24, 12, 6, and 4.

The bastion, 2, with 8 pieces of 6, and 2 pieces of 4, which would be sufficient in the work 3. There would be 2 in the bonnet, 5, and 3 in that numbered 4. The 2 cannons would be withdrawn from bonnet 5 into redoubt 3, and the 3 of the work 4, into fort 1, as soon as the enemy should force the abatis.

Two pieces of 4 would be placed in the work 10, and 2 of 6 in the lunette 12.

Thirty-four pieces of cannon will be enough to support all these positions.

They will need 300 gunners to serve them in case of attack.

Twelve hundred infantrymen will also be necessary to defend all these works. By the word "infantry," I mean regular troops, militia, and Indians.

300 gunners [4]
1,200 infantry

Total 1,500 men

The most pressing supplies consist of the tools for the construction of the works, such as:

Picks.
Mattocks.
Spades.
Shovels.
Axes of all sizes.
Pruning-bills.
Two-handled knives.
Wheelbarrows.
Also cordage.
Nails of all kinds.

Tools for carpenters, joiners, smiths, plough-wrights, armorors, iron of all styles.

---

[3] In our transcript 12º 3, evidently an error for nº. 3.

[4] The officer of genius charged with the execution of the present project, engages also to train the gunners. — Note in MS.

The amount could be determined only by the number of workmen that would be employed.

As to the food supply, I believe it ought to be established on the basis of 2,000 men, both troops and workmen, for the time of six months, as follows:

1,800	barrels of salt beef and pork.
2,000	barrels of flour.
300	barrels of rice.
500	barrels of corn.
1,200	gallons of brandy.

NOTE: It is to be observed that this project is the general plan of defense which should be carried out successively, according as time and money would permit. At this time, without changing the harmony of this defense, one could be satisfied with beginning the construction of an earthen fort at No. 1, following by the second project, which is designed on the second plan, without the demilune or glacis. This work made with care, palisaded and fraised, will demand only a short time and will be enough for the first campaign. It will have the advantage of being a preparation for a more durable and more considerable work, if it is immediately determined to follow the general plan.

In regard to the dikes, these works since they must be made only of earth, with the crest covered with a little abatis, will require very little earth and very slight expense.

Battery 2 is in a position too important for the security of the city not to take the means of preventing it from falling into the hands of the enemy. In view of the urgency, it will be enough to surround it with a palisaded ditch covered with a good abatis.

Redoubt 3 shall be made of earth as is indicated on the plan, and surrounded with an abatis.

With 300 workmen, these works can be put into a state of defense within two months.

P. S. There is a powder-mill in Kentucky. The powder costs one-half piastre per pound, when bought by the thousand pounds, and is of a very good quality. There is also a factory for bullets of all calibers. The price is from 40 to 45 pounds per ton, that is of 2,000 pounds weight, English standard.

(Signed),

V. COLLET.

[NOTE: On the accompanying plan is the following:

Plan of St. Louis des Illinoia, with the project for an entrenched camp reproduced from the collection of maps and plans made by General Collot at the request of the French republic. The year 1796.

On the island in the river is written:

"Reef which is uncovered at low water."

GEN. COLLOT'S PLAN OF ST. LOUIS, 1796

CI

PETITION OF DON CARLOS DELASSUS ASKING TRANSFER TO THE LOUISIANA REGIMENT, 1794—AND FOR PROMOTION, 1797

General Archives of Simancas — Department of War — Legajo 6919.

Synopsis:]

Papers relating to the concession of the title of brevet Lieutenant-Colonel of the regular [*fijo*] regiment of Luisiana to Don Carlos Dehault de Lassus, in which his services are stated.

Petition:]

Your Excellency:

Don Carlos deHault de Lassus, second Lieutenant of Grenadiers of the fifth battalion of the Regiment of the Royal Guards of the Walloon Infantry,[1] who has taken part in all the engagements of all the past campaign of the army of the Rosellon[2] in which the sixth battalion of the said royal corps participated (to which the fifth battalion belongs) as first Lieutenant, and has been brevetted Lieutenant-Colonel, as he had the good fortune to be one of the first at the assault of the fort of San Thelmo, when it was Conquered, sets before Your Excellency:

That his father was a fugitive from the Kingdom of France with his wife and children, in whose company the declarant has wandered for the space of three years; during that time, after unheard-of hardships, in traveling through lands, crossing seas, the Americas, rivers, and living among all the savage tribes found from the Scioto River in North America, he reached the Spanish Ylinoa in the Province of Luisiana. There he has established himself, and has built up a small colony in order that he might acquire the means to sustain his life and that of his numerous family in his advanced age. In his sad and pitiable lot, the declarant, desiring to furnish his unhappy parents and his brothers and sisters with the means of bettering themselves, has recourse to the refuge and protection of Your Excellency, whose powerful influence he entreats you to interpose in his favor, in order that he may merit the grace from the sovereign piety of promotion to the regular regiment of Luisiana, with the rank and pay of Lieutenant-Colonel, by which means he can attain his just desires.

---

[1] Cuerpo de guardias Walonas consisted in Spain of more than 4,000 men in 56 companies who came from Flanders, and were in the service of the Spanish kings until the time of Fernando VII.

[2] Rousillon—a district adjacent to France.

[This is a] favor which he hopes for from the compassionate and generous heart of Your Excellency, the only protection of the unfortunate and destitute, and for whose precious life he continually beseeches the heavens.

Madrid, July 5, 1794.

Your Excellency, CARLOS DEHAULT DE LASSUS.

Decree:]

The King: Inasmuch as I have conceded an assignment in the regular regiment of Infantry of Luisiana to the brevet Lieutenant-Colonel, Don Carlos deHault de Lassus, second Lieutenant of Grenadiers of my Royal Walloon Guards, with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in order that he may continue his services therein:

Therefore, I order the Captain-General of the above-mentioned Province of Luisiana to issue the necessary orders for the fulfilment of the above; and I order the Minister of the Royal Treasury, so far as it concerns him, to give the fitting orders, so that it may be entered in the chief Contaduria,[3] where an account must be opened for the above-mentioned Don Carlos deHault de Lassus as such brevet Lieutenant-Colonel, with the pay of Captain assigned by the regulations, with the provision that he present himself with this despatch; and if he do not do so, this will remain null and void.

Given in San Ildefonso, August eight, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four.

I THE KING.

Official Despatch:]

YOUR EXCELLENCY:

It has pleased the King to concede the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel of the regular regiment of Luisiana to the brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Don Carlos deHault de Lassus, second Lieutenant of Grenadiers of the regiment of the Royal Walloon Guards of Your Excellency's command, but with only the pay of Captain. By His Majesty's order I communicate the above to Your Excellency for your knowledge and so that the order be executed. I enclose with it the royal despatch in duplicate of the above concession, so that it may be given to the party interested in order that he may correspond with this secret office [4] in order to get the fitting passport for passage and transference to his new post.

---

[3] Accountant's or auditor's office at the Exchequer.

May God preserve Your Excellency for many years.

San Ildefonso, August 8, 1794. THE PRINCE OF CASTEL FARNEO.

Official Despatch:]

YOUR EXCELLENCY:

The King has been pleased to concede the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel with Captain's pay in the regular regiment of Luisiana to the brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Don Carlos deHault de Lassus, second Lieutenant of the Grenadiers of the Royal Walloon Infantry Guards. By order of His Majesty I advise Your Excellency thereof, so that you may be pleased to have the orders for its requisite execution issued.

May God preserve Your Excellency many years.

San Ildefonso, August 8, 1794.

Addressed: "Don Diego de Gardoqui."

[A despatch of like tenor is sent to Don Juan de Pina y Ruiz; and one to the Captain-General of Luisiana.]

Petition:]

Don Carlos deHault de Lassus, brevet Lieutenant-Colonel of the regular [regiment] of Luisiana, requests His Excellency, the Minister of War for a passport to the port of Cadiz, and permission to take passage thence with a servant, arms, and baggage, in order that he may rejoin his corps.

Royal site of San Ildefonso, August 11, 1794.

CARLOS DEHAULT DE LASSUS (rubric).

[Endorsed in the margin: "Let it be issued" (rubric). "The passport was issued August 11, 1794."]

Official Despatch:]

YOUR EXCELLENCY:

I have given way to the royal despatch which was sent me by Your Excellency under date of August 8 last, with the assignment as Lieutenant-Colonel with the pay of Captain of the regular regiment of Luisiana to the brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Don Carlos deHault de Lassus, second Lieutenant of the Grenadiers of the Royal Walloon Infantry Guards, and I inform Your Excellency of it so that you may have due knowledge thereof.

---

[4] The expression in the original is *Via reservada* which is the office of a Secretary of State and Foreign affairs, for a private correspondence on secret affairs.

May God preserve Your Excellency many years.

Havana, November 8, 1794.

Your Excellency,

Luis de las Casas (rubric).

Addressed: "Conde del Campe de Alange."

Petition:]

Sir:

Don Carlos deHault de Lassus, brevet Lieutenant-Colonel of the regular regiment of Luisiana, who was in the army of Rosellon during all the first campaign in the last war with France and took part in all the engagements in which the sixth battalion of the Royal Walloon Guards has fought, and has been given the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel because he was one of the first at the assault of the fort of San Telmo when it was conquered, and is at present civil and military Commandant of the post of Nuevo Madrid by order of the Baron de Carondelet, Commandant-General of these provinces of Luisiana:

Coming into the royal presence of Your Majesty with the fitting respect, states that he, having begged by concession of Your Majesty promotion from the post of second Lieutenant of Grenadiers of the royal Waloon Guards [to] the regular regiment of Luisiana with the rank of brevet Lieutenant-Colonel with pay as such, in order that he might be able to aid his family which has emigrated into the upper posts of the Misisipi into Your Majesty's domains, that grace was conceded to him, but only with the pay of Captain. The wretched condition in which the declarant has found his father, mother, two brothers, sister, brother-in-law, and his nephews and nieces, incite him to again implore the grace of Your Majesty asking that you may concede him the pay of Lieutenant-Colonel, in order that he may assist his unfortunate family and maintain himself with the honor that his rank demands.

He hopes that he merits this grace from the magnanimous and compassionate heart of Your Majesty.

The post of Nuevo Madrid, in Upper Luisiana, June 25, 1797.

With all due humility to Your Majesty,

Don Carlos deHault de Lassus.

Petition endorsed:]

YOUR EXCELLENCY:

Don Carlos deHault de Lassus, Lieutenant-Colonel with the pay of Captain, assigned to the regiment of Infantry of Luisiana, requests, in the adjoined memorial, the pay corresponding to his rank. The special and distinguished merit that he acquired in the campaign of Rosellon, the numerous family, which abandoning a fine fortune, has emigrated to this colony, and for whose support the supplicant has sacrificed the prospects of his career in the army, are reasons that make him a creditor who should be distinguished by His Majesty. Therefore I petition Your Excellency to please obtain this concession from the sovereign, for I consider him well worthy of it.

May God preserve Your Excellency for many years, Nueva Orleans, July 31, 1797.

Your Excellency,

BARON DE CARONDELET.

Addressed: "Don Juan Manuel de Alvarez."

Petition refused:]

The Commandant-General of Luisiana, Baron de Carondelet, has enclosed in a letter of July 31, last number 44, a memorial of Don Carlos deHault de Lassus, Lieutenant-Colonel by brevet of the regular regiment of that province, in which, with the support of the said chief, he asks for the pay of Lieutenant-Colonel. The King having been informed of this petition, has not considered it advisable to concede the request. I advise Your Excellency thereof, by order of His Majesty, for your intelligence, and so that the one interested may be informed thereof.

May God, etc.,

Madrid, December 16, 1797.

Addressed: Captain-General of Luisiana and the Floridas.

Résumé:]

Résumé of the papers of Don Carlos Dehault de Lassus.

Don Carlos deHault de Lassus, second Lieutenant of Grenadiers of the Royal Walloon Guards, brevet Lieutenant-Colonel, states that he has been in various actions with his battalion during the past campaign of Rosellon, and obtained the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel through merit contracted in the capture of San Telmo. His father emigrated from France with his wife and children, and after many hardships, and after crossing rivers, seas, and passing through the savage tribes of North America for the space of three years, finally settled in Luisiana, where he established a small colony in order to support himself and his numerous family. In order that the suppliant may aid him, he requests that Your Majesty deign to concede him the promotion in rank and pay of Lieutenant-Colonel of the regular regiment of Luisiana.

He has 11 years and 10 months of service, 6 years being with his rank [*en su classe*].

His Majesty concedes him the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel with the pay of Captain.

The despatch, orders, and negotiations, were dated August 8, 1794.

Nueva Orleans, July 31, 1797.

The Commandant-General, BARON DE CARONDELET.

A memorial is remitted by Don Carlos deHault de Lassus, to whom Your Majesty, by a previous resolution, conceded the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel with the pay of Captain in the regular regiment of Luisiana, he being second Lieutenant of Grenadiers of the Royal Walloon Guards and ranking as Lieutenant-Colonel. This person states now the merits which he presented then, and the reason which obliged him to solicit the said grace, and adds the wretched condition of his parents and brothers and sisters; and so that he may be enabled to contribute to the support and maintain himself in the manner fitting his rank, he petitions the pay of Lieutenant-Colonel.

Carondelet supports the petition because of the merits of the supplicant, who abandoned his brilliant career for the worthy object of succoring his family, who emigrated to that colony. December 11, 1797.

Refused.

Dated December 16, 1797.

[In the margin: "The pay received by the party interested is 62 pesos per month. That of Lieutenant-Colonel which he asks, is 140.]

CII

MACKAY APPOINTED COMMANDANT OF SAN ANDRÉS

General Archives of the Indies, Seville — Papers from the Ministry of State — From the Island of Cuba.

Decree:]

Don Manuel Gayoso, etc.: Inasmuch as a considerable number of families have been gathered together on the Misuri, and it is necessary to appoint a person of knowledge, zeal, and love for the service to administer justice under the orders of the Lieutenant-Governor of the settlements of Ylinoa and preserve decency and good order among those new colonists: therefore, since these necessary qualities are found in Don Santiago Mackay, Captain of the mixed company of that settlement, which is to be known under the name of San Andrés del Misuri, I have just appointed him — as in fact I do appoint him — as first Commandant of that settlement. I order the Lieutenant-Governor of the settlements of Ylinoa, and others of that jurisdiction — officials, sergeants, corporals, soldiers, and habitants — to recognize, consider, and hold him as such Commandant. They shall keep for him and cause to be kept for him the honors, exemptions, and privileges which belong to him; and the orders that he shall give for the royal service, in writing or verbally, shall be obeyed by all those who are subject to his jurisdiction. Given, etc., May 1st, 1798. MANUEL GAYOSO DE LEMOS (rubric).

Command of Post taken:]

The Captain of militia, Don Santiago Mackay, arrived at this post, and on the first of October of the present year, took possession of the command of the new settlement of San Andrés del Misury and of the company of militia of the same settlement. I advise Your Lordship of it in reply to your official letter of May 1, last, and as is ordered me, so that I may receive the other measures which are fitting. May God preserve Your Lordship many years. San Luis, November 15, 1798.

ZENON TRUDEAU.

Addressed: "Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos."

[Endorsed: "Number 28, April 2, 99. It was sent to the Intendant."]

On this date I have given advice to the Intendant that the Captain of militia, Don Santiago Mackay, concerning whom Your Grace informed me in your official letter, number 28, to which I reply, has taken possession of the command of the settlement of San Andrés del Misuri, on October first, last year. May God preserve Your Grace many years. Nueva Orleans, April 2, 1799.

Manuel Gayoso de Lemos (rubric).

Addressed: "Don Zenon Trudeau."

[On the second of April, 1799, Manuel Gayoso de Lemos notifies Juan Morales that Santiago Mackay has taken command of the new post of San Andrés. In his communication, he cites the above letter of the Lieutenant-Colonel, Don Zenón Trudeau, Lieutenant-Governor of the settlements of Ylinoa. This letter was sent to the Accountancy and a reply directed to be made. On the same date, the advice given by Trudeau was copied in the Accountancy-general of the army and a reply sent to Manuel Gayoso de Lemos.]

CIII

TRUDEAU'S REPORT CONCERNING THE SETTLEMENTS OF THE SPANISH ILLINOIS COUNTRY — 1798

General Archives of the Indies, Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

The settlements of His Catholic Majesty in Ylinoa form part of Upper Luisiana and are located on the western bank of the Misisipy River between 37 and 39 degrees of latitude, between the two confluents which the above river forms with the Ohio and the Misoury. These settlements are Cabo Girardeau, Nueva Borbon, Santa Genoveva, Carondelet, San Luis, San Fernando, and San Carlos del Misury.

The first settlement which one meets on ascending the Misisipy is Cabo Girardeau, fifteen leagues above the junction of the Ohio. That place was occupied already for some years by Don Luis Lorimier, who, some time ago, was appointed Commandant of it by Baron de Carondelet. About thirty families, attracted by the advantages offered by our Government in granting lands free of charge, having emigrated from the United States of America, have settled there. This country is yet without a clearing and that seems truly a pity, because on considering the beauty of its situation, the healthfulness of its climate, the amenity, strength, and fertility of its land, the abundance of various creeks and springs which water it, many good woods for construction, and all the rest that can be desired by the planters in said site, as well as in all Ylinoa, one cannot be less than astonished at seeing that instead of finding flourishing settlements with most abundant harvests, according to the promise of the fertility of the land, nothing but small settlements, which are beginning to spring up, and wild mountains, are found.

Twelve leagues from Cabo Girardeau, in the interior of the country, there is a branch of the river San Francisco, which empties into the Misisipy. The lands located on the shores of the said branches are as beautiful and fertile as those of the above-mentioned Cabo Girardeau. Already some habitants desire and are thinking of settling there, since they find the same advantages of being able to transport their products by said branch to the Misisipy and thence to the capital as the other setters located on the shore of the first-named river.

Twenty leagues from Cabo Girardeau is found Nueva Borbon, located on a hill which commands a low point, about one league broad, between the Misisipy and said hill. It is on that low point that the habitants carry on their principal cultivation, in spite of the fact that the freshets of the river frequently inundate it, destroying in an instant the fruit of a year of toil. The most notable habitants have assured me that they are accustomed to lose two out of five harvests regularly, but such is the power of custom and of preoccupation that they always persist in cultivating there, for they believe that they find it more fertile than the other lands, in spite of the example presented by the Americans newly settled among them, who, more experienced and prudent, sow on the heights in that neighborhood, where they gain an abundant harvest of grain of a superior quality, and do not fear to lose it by the rising of the river

That village, whose population consists of 461 persons of both sexes, including the plantations of La Salina and others, has separated from the village of Santa Genoveva, in order to give its command to Monsieur de Luziere. The village of Santa Genoveva, which follows immediately within half [a league], being situated on the same hill. The habitants of this latter village cultivate the same low point as those of Nueva Borbon. It is not yet more than seven years since they settled the said hill, although they have been settled on said low point (so subject to frequent inundations) for more than sixty years. But, warned by so many reiterated occasions, they determined at length to seek a position where they might place the houses under shelter. The inhabitants of this district are united by the most narrow bonds. For nearly all of them being related, blood binds them to maintain the fast friendship and harmony which has always existed among them. Don Francisco Vallé, who is their Commandant at present, is, at the same time, the head of the most numerous and notable families. The personal qualities which this man possesses make him one of the most to be recommended of that country, for not only is he esteemed by those habitants, but he is their true friend and protector.

The city of San Luis, located forty leagues from Cabo Girardeau, and twenty from Nueva Borbon and Santa Genoveva, is the principal settlement of Ylinoa. Like the city of Nueva Orleans, it is located on the banks of the Misisipy River. It has a population of

948 persons of all ages and sexes. It is in this city where the very limited commerce of these settlements is carried on, and whence the merchandise is sent out for the purpose of trade with the Indians of the Misury. It has very few farmers and those who follow that calling cultivate blindly without the least knowledge except what custom teaches, as is shown by the abuse of enclosing in common the farm lands which are separated one from another by a great distance, in order to prevent the sheep and other domestic animals from entering the cultivated parts. It is true that, in the beginning, necessity may have obliged them to follow that method, which experience ought to make them abandon at this present day, for, since the stockade which they have to make annually is extremely extended, and since the interest of all is not the same, in order that the stockade be kept up, the most exact vigilance is not sufficient to restrain the animals and in attending in time to its repair. Therefore, the crops are destroyed most years by said animals, and it will continue so in the future if that vicious custom is persisted in. Already the good habitants desire to abandon it, present circumstances also demand that it be done away with in order to further the prosperity of the inland plantations. And their animals abandoned to themselves, as in Natchez, they will begin each one to enclose their farms.

The village of Carondelet is some two leagues below, being also located on the shores of the Misisipy River. Its population consists of persons of both sexes and all ages. Its habitants are poor and the greater part Canadians and Creoles. The married men cultivate their fields and the young men are employed in the voyages of the Misisipy and Misury. It is two years since they have abandoned the stockade which they made in common with those of San Luis for the safety of their fields. That has proved very advantageous to them, for in the above-mentioned two years they have gathered very abundant harvests; and the lands, that had no value in the beginning, as they were slow in building the stockades, are today sold at an excellent price.

The village of San Fernando is located west of this city inland and distant from it about five leagues. Its population consists of persons of both sexes, including some American plantations. Its cultivation has resulted quite advantageously for some years back, and said habitants are very attentive to work, which gives hopes that their children will be good planters. There is no parish priest in this village, which has plantations in its neighborhood. It would not be a bad thing to send them a priest of the Irish nation. He could also serve the small village of Marais de Liars [*i. e.*, Cottonwood Swamp], which is near by, and whose population consists of [*no number given in MS.*] persons. All the young men of this last settlement are hunters, although there are also good planters. It is about eleven years since the villages of San Fernando and Carondelet have been settled by the people of San Luis, who at the present time get a great part of their provisions from these two towns.

For one year back and even today plantations have been made and are being made in the neighborhood of these villages. Their population at the present time is composed of persons of both sexes and all ages, as appears by the general register of this year which I enclose. I ask the Governor-General to please cast his eyes on it so that he may easily obtain a correct idea of all the population in these settlements, whose district offers, in general, lands abounding in mountains and unappropriated prairies. Almost all of these lands are cut by various large rivers and creeks, and there are many rivulets and springs in all parts. Few countries unite so many advantages as this under one sky and in a very delightful climate. Nevertheless, the cold is severe some years, but there is no winter which the fine moderation of the spring does not allow the farmer the opportune time to do his plowing.

This country is also abundant in lead mines and salt deposits scattered a certain distance one from another. They can easily supply their products to numerous settlements. There are also iron mines in abundance, and they abound as well at intervals in navigable rivers, which makes their excavation and transportation easy. It is in the working and settlement of these mines that the hope of the population and cultivation of this country depends. The establishment of an excellent foundry and forge for the reduction of the minerals into bars would be very convenient. It would be of great encouragement for all the people since the farmer who pays at present four or five reals a pound for this metal has to get along perforce without the most useful tools for his calling. Others would willingly devote themselves to farming, but hesitate to do so because of the great expenses which said instruments would cause them. Consequently, the first object of encouragement that I must present to the Royal Governor is to favor the working of some of these mines.

The Indian tribes who inhabit the territory of Ylinoa have always been the greatest obstacle to the progress of the settlement of the country. For, obliged to unite in masses in the villages in order to be able to oppose and to resist the raids and vexations of every kind committed by those barbarians, there have been times in which they did not dare to go to their farms. That introduced among them a passive idleness which gave them over to the tasting of spirituous liquors and drunkenness, a taste fatal to all the villages, and which has caused the total ruin in these new settlements of the greater part of the best families, upon which was placed the hope of the prosperity of this country. Since the three years the Government has granted Don Augusto Chouteau exclusive trade with the two Osage tribes, these two tribes have been restrained in their piracies on these settlements, because said Don Augusto Chouteau found the means of diverting and dissuading them by good counsels and by means of the accredited ascendancy which he has among both tribes. But there are still other tribes which frequently steal horses and treat very badly the whites who are isolated. It is an evil which it is still necessary to endure and which it is not possible to avoid, since most times it is not known what tribes are the aggressors, and because if we used harshness we should find ourselves in the sad necessity of making war on some men quite distant from here, of whom the greater part live outside of our territory. That would make their punishment more difficult.

Without doubt the Osages have been harmful in the river of Akanzas, but I do not know whether it would be prudent to break with them in a point in which they leave the important district of Ylinoa at peace, which is beginning to be settled by a large emigration of foreigners who can be attracted only by tranquillity and quietness, which said settlements enjoy at the present time. It is, therefore, desirable that the Governor-General regard and consider for a moment the prosperity of Ylinoa, and the slight evil suffered by the hunters and wanderers of the Akanzas River. That class of people is the scum of the posts. Let the Governor attempt to restrain said Osages by way of gentleness and patience, until these settlements, having been assured by a numerous population, may themselves lend to the Government aid and a strong hand to punish this tribe and any other which transgresses order.

The trade of Ylinoa is sufficiently limited in comparison with its population. What goes up annually from the Capital for the consumption of the habitants is very little, for it consists in brandy, sugar, coffee, soap, iron, some ordinary cloth for the Indians, and all kinds of goods for trade. In exchange for these goods the merchants receive wheat, corn, tobacco, and different kinds of furs. These latter consist of the skins of deer, bears, beavers, and otters. The annual amount of all this barter may be about eighty thousand pesos, which converted into skins are taken down to Nueva Orleans annually.

The private trade of the two Osage tribes belongs exclusively to Don Augusto Chouteau. Among these two tribes can be counted one thousand two hundred men, who have their villages on the shores of the river named for them. During good years they trade in both villages about six hundred packs of furs at the rate of forty pesos apiece, which amounts to 24,000 pesos. It is toward the furtherance of this trade that the merchants of this district direct all their ambition. It is often very damaging to them, since a slight reason causes the Indians to leave the hunt and nothing at all makes them abandon their traders, after having received from them the best of their goods in order to leave the rest at the discretion of their enemies, who generally rob them. On many occasions they compel the traders to an unequal and unjust exchange, maltreating them if they resist. But these vexations do not prevent the traders from returning next year to seek others like them.

The Káance tribe has its village located on the banks of the river of that name. They number about 400 men, and are all better hunters than the Osages, and at the least as great rogues as they. This tribe would have an easy entrance to the river of Akanzas if it were not for the Osages who prevent them, and certainly they would commit more acts of piracy and roguery than these latter. This is the only tribe whose trade is not exclusive. It is usually divided into six equal parts, each one valued at the sum of eight hundred pesos. These six parts are distributed by lot among all the merchants of San Luis and Santa Genoveva. Those which have drawn the lot one year are excluded from it the next year, and until all have shared in this advantage. From this tribe 180 packs of furs are obtained annually.

The village of the Octatacta tribe is located about 200 leagues above the entrance of the Misury, between the confluence of the latter river and the Plate [*i. e.*, Platte]. Their number is 400 men. Thirty leagues inland from said river Plate is the Panis tribe, consisting of 800 men. Eighty leagues from the entrance of the Plate River, ascending by the Misury, are found the Mahás, consisting of 600 men. The trade of those four nations belongs exclusively to a company established in 1794, under the approval of the general Government. This company, which must go to the source of the Misury caused one Juan Bautista Truteau, a prudent man, intelligent and experienced, who was sent from here the same year of the company's formation, to penetrate to the Mandana tribe. The Mandana tribe is supposed to be distant from San Luis some five hundred leagues. The great obstacles and difficulties which had to be conquered on the part of the wandering tribe of the Sioux whom he found in the path of his navigation compelled him to go back to winter among the Poncás tribe. That tribe consumed for him the half of the few goods which he took. He returned in the following spring to accomplish his voyage and reached the Ricarás tribe, which he found settled on the south shore of the Misury River, to the number of about 800 men. There he decided to await some reinforcements which were to be sent to him by the above-mentioned company. The latter really sent him a second expedition, but unfortunately the one in charge of it managed it so badly that he was captured and detained by the Poncás tribe, who used up for him almost all the goods he carried.

In the year 1795 said company sent out a third expedition in charge of Mr. Mackay, an intelligent and prudent man. In his charge, were placed all the interests which he carried. Since the season of the year was already advanced at the time of his departure, he was only to penetrate that first year as far as the Mahás tribe, and form there a post in order to send thence every year the effects which it was necessary to send farther up. Winter had already begun when he reached the village of this perverse tribe, whose chief is so arbitrary, despotic, cruel, and implacable a tyrant toward the whites, that one cannot hope that the hunt from this tribe, nor the traffic and barter which can be carried on among them, can compensate for the excessive expenses which it causes in the long and toilsome voyages which are made thither.

The above-mentioned Mackay established his settlement immediately upon his arrival, which he succeeded in doing during the rest of the winter. But he used up almost all his goods in the various presents which he had to give to the Indians to gain their friendship, and in the support of his employées. While awaiting the following spring new reinforcements from the company, he despatched to the Mandana tribe, up the Misury, one Mr. Evans. The latter encountered, as did Truteau, the Sioux tribe who persecuted him and forced him to go back to the Mahás, whence he again undertook the said voyage after a short time. Finally, he reached a new village of the Ricarás which that tribe had established near theMandanas. There he found a fort built by the merchants of Montreal. He took possession of it for an instant [only] as a short time after that he had to descend to this city.

It is three years since that fort was built, and it was continually occupied by the English traders of Canada. I know also that the traders of the Hudson Bay also penetrate as far as the Misury. Their voyages are, as those of Montreal, immense, both because of the length of the journey, and because of the transports and supplies which they have to have. The other obstacles which they have to conquer, in order to reach the Misury, are double those of ours, and, nevertheless, they have anticipated us in reaching that district which belongs to us, by a river navigable from its mouth to its source. Men, although of different countries, all make the same struggle to achieve wealth; and I am of the opinion that if our traders of Ylinoa possessed the same faculties as those of Canadá for the carrying of goods, these English traders would see themselves very quickly driven out of our territory, and by this means quantities of fine furs would be sent down to Nueva Orleans which those men get in spite of a long and expensive journey.

This company consisted at the beginning of eight members or associates who risked an equal sum. The greater part of them resigned, ruined, and the company is today represented by the house of [Cla]Morgan, Loisel and Company, which has acquired the shares through the resignation of some and the purchase of the rest. This house was established for its operations in that of Don Andrés Todd, who has died in Nueva Orléans. This event can do no less than destroy the plans of the company, which cannot be carried on without the support of another rich house. On the contrary, it is probable that these plans will have no effect, and will be buried in oblivion. Said company not having risked another enterprise the past year, I determined to make use by this means for the punishment of the Octoctatas, Panis, Mahás, and Poncás tribes, by depriving them of goods in order to show them and convince them that they depend upon us and to reduce them to obedience.

Besides the Indian tribes of the Misury, whose number is considerable, there are many others on the upper Misisipi, as well as on the other rivers which empty into it from our territory. Those tribes have no trade with Ylinoa, for they have no other traders than the merchants of Montreal who have traded there this year under an American passport, which they got from Michilimakinac. The goods that they bring are superior to those brought us from the Capital, and they give them at better bargains. In order to supersede the English in this trade, Baron Carondelet has granted the exclusive trade of all the upper Misisippi to Don Andrés Todd whose operations I believe prudent. Already that trader has caused a great quantity of goods suitable for his operations to be sent up from Nueva Orleans, but his death and the war have frustrated this enterprise. It would have been immediately so useful and advantageous, that skins of all kinds to the value of one hundred [thousand ?] pesos more would have been sent down annually to the capital, besides the profit which another plan of Todd, namely, to cause all the young men whom he needed, to come down from Canadá, would have produced for us. These pledged to his service for a limited time, the greater part would have remained, as happens, at the end of that service, and this settlement would have advanced by this means much more rapidly.

His Majesty's settlements in Ylinoa have opposite them, on the east bank of the Misisipi, settlements to the same number, belonging to the United States of America. Their population is at the present time slightly greater or less than ours, but the United States have powerful means for their increase, namely, the eye of a good Government on whatever can bring its population from such to such a point, on this account depending the so rapid advances which Ohio has made in a very short time. If Congress will open up subscriptions for the sales of land of which Ohio already has the most ardent desires, the American Ylinoa will be seen to be covered with inhabitants. At the present time, it has a population of three thousand souls and at this rate, it is probable that they will reckon a hundred thousand ten years from now.

The more I consider the location of these settlements and seek the possible means for increasing their population, I see no other means than that of the United States, who alone can supply a great number of families. The voyage from Nueva Orleans is too great and costly. Canada also needs population. I do not see then only

Ohio in which our Government must found its hopes. As I have heard said, the United States have many Catholics and French emigrants and Germans,[1] and many Americans who are today disgusted with their Government. In order to attract these people, I am of the opinion that it would be advisable to form a settlement near the Ohio, so that the migrators might find an asylum to aid them in disembarking effects and furnishing food and aid to the most needy. Besides this settlement, another could be formed higher up, and so successsively, until finding a district whose soil promised a good fertility for the establishment of a numerous population. It would then be necessary for the government to grant some food to the most needy and those who have families, an essential point which would attract more families.

The few Americans who have migrated to this district the past year have behaved very well, for since they have found lands superior to those of the Ohio, they are earnestly beginning to improve them. Almost all of them desire to obtain good sites for mills. Those who have obtained them are earnest in increasing this industry; already they have constructed two small water-power mills [for flour] and one saw mill in distinct places where no one would have imagined even that one could really work. Their houses are already better than those of the Creoles and Canadians, who were settled in villages thirty years ago. In spite of all the advantages which our Government has given them, they have always present in their minds the difference of sect as regards our religion. This point occupies them so much that worthy and rich families have returned to the other district because they are obliged to celebrate their marriages and baptisms by means of our Catholic priests.

It is a fact (and experience itself has shown its strength) that the soil of this country is extremely fertile in all kinds of grains; since whenever the old and new inhabitants wish to pay attention to their work they can make from here an output of very fine flour, so good, indeed, that I believe it would exceed in any way the flour of Europe. The soil produces hemp of its own accord, since it is a natural product, and of so superior a quality, that it can be compared with that of Russia. Already several Americans have begun to cultivate it, and this very year many have resolved to begin its cultivation in real earnest. This means that it will not be slow in extending itself;

---

[1] The transcript reads "en Alemanes," doubtless a copyist's error for "Y Alemanes."

and on that account I beg the Governor-General to please devote himself to furnishing a suitable outlet for the cordage which can be manufactured here in a short time throughout Ylinoa, whose increase will become considerable if the Government assist it with some spirit.

The Spanish settlements of Ylinoa and those of the United States are, as I have said, separated by the Misisipy River, and the villages are but very little distance apart, while the population of both districts is about equal. There are certain rumors in these last villages [*i. e.*, the American] that they are going to construct forts in various posts and that they are to be garrisoned with troops. That is quite likely and will make it necessary for us to increase the garrison of San Luis. Since Spain has had possession of this province, the garrison has never exceeded fifty men, although we ought at the present time to have at least two hundred young men, strong and active, so that they could overrun the mountains and conduct and know how to journey in small boats. Without that requisite, the King will never be well served in a country where people must know how to make war in the manner of the Indians, either against them or against the whites.

The command of the abovesaid settlement has always been under charge of a Captain of the Regiment of this Province, both in regard to civil and military matters. In each village of these districts there is a Commandant, whose employment is regularly as Captain of Militia, under the orders of the Commandant-in-Chief. The Commandants of Santa Geneveva, Nueva Borbon, and Cabo de Girardeau are assigned one hundred pesos annually, while all the others have no pay, although they have the same duty, and are even more exposed to seeing and receiving Indians. Consequently, they are entitled to the same pay. Each Commandant has the public archives under his charge, as well as the drawing up of all the documents of their affairs, in the French idiom, as they do not know Spanish. It is the duty of the Commandant-in-Chief to go to any of those villages when any summary or criminal process is to be pursued. That causes them very heavy expense, to the detriment of their pay, in voyages and support. They have no other means of standing this expense than by their intrinsic pay as Captain. Consequently, all the Commandants who have preceded me obtained from the Governors of their time concession of trade with the Big Osages, by which they could live decently. In order to furnish me a like relief, Baron de Carondelet authorized me to take twenty-five pesos for each passport which I signed for the traders who went hence to the Misury. That gave me a regular income to the number of twenty-eight passports which allowed me to support myself decently. But this emolument lasted only one year and I am today reduced to only one hundred and fifty pesos by reason of the various privileges of exclusive trade granted to Chouteau and to the Company of the Upper Misury.

The Governor has no room to doubt that I have always endeavored to act honorably in the charge which has been conferred on me in this command, and, in particular, with the foreigners whom we have at our boundaries, since officials of all kinds, even generals and judges, etc., have come to visit me. The expenses of that, as can be seen, can not be supplied by the sole pay of a Captain if he wishes to sustain the honor and splendor due his nation.

If said Commandant-in-Chief needs greater emolument at the present day, the multiplicity of the affairs which he has to despatch demands also that he keep a Secretary; the settlement requires a notary-public who is honorable and intelligent; the Americans, an interpreter; and affairs of justice, an assessor. All of the above is indispensable and I bring it to the consideration of the Governor-General for a country which is five hundred leagues away from the Capital, whose situation, both politically and rurally, announce that it must within a short time become the most valuable that His Majesty possesses in Luisiana.

San Luis de Ylinoa, January 15, 1798.

ZENON TRUDEAU[1] (rubric).

---

[1] For biographical sketch of—see Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, page 58.

CIV

SUSPECTED DANGER OF AN ATTACK ON ST. LOUIS AND NEW MADRID — 1798

General Archives of Simancas — Department of War — Legajo 6921.

Synopsis:]

Communication to the Captain-General of Luisiana ordering him to reënforce the important posts of San Luis and Nuevo Madrid, and any other in order to prevent the Americans from getting possession of them.

January 3, 1799.

YOUR EXCELLENCY:

The King's minister in the United States of America sends me a communication under date of September 17, and repeats the same communication in another letter of October 13, to the effect that that Government had sent some thousands of men toward the frontiers of Luisiana. He expresses the fear lest in case of rupture [between the two countries], they will seize the important posts of San Luis and Nuevo Madrid (which are the key to Lower Luisiana) as those posts are poorly garrisoned at present.

I inform Your Excellency of this so that by virtue of this advice, you may communicate to the military chiefs commanding in those districts the orders that are judged necessary for the security and defense of the domains of His Majesty in that part.

May God preserve your Excellency many years.

The Palace, December 29, 1798.

Because of the illness of Don Francisco de Saavedra,

MARIANO LUIS DE URQUIJO (rubric).
DON JUAN MANUEL ALVAREZ.

In the margin:]

"Have the Captain-General of Luisiana advised of the fitting provisions so that the said posts may be reënforced, and those which he judges necessary for the security and defense of His Majesty's domains in those parts.

Dated January 1, 1799."]

[The matter of the above letter which was probably a communication to one of the King's ministers, is recited in another letter, and the following is added:]

I advise your Excellency of it by royal order so that you may know it and observe it.

May God preserve, etc.

Madrid, January 1, 1799.

Addressed: "Captain-General of Luisiana and the Floridas."

On the same date the above letter was communicated to the Captain-General of the former province [and the following added:]

I copy this communication for Your Excellency by royal order, so that you may observe the portion that concerns you.

May God, etc.

Madrid, January 1, 1799.

Addressed: "The Governor of Nueva-Orleans."

CV

INVENTORY OF THE CIVIL ARCHIVES OF ST. LOUIS — 1799

General Archives of the Indies, Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

Letter from De Lassus:]

I send Your Lordship, under present covers, duplicates of the inventories of the archives of this post and lists of the arms, ammunitions, supplies, and fortifications, which were delivered to me by Lieutenant-Colonel Don Zenon Trudeau, and which have been made inventoried by the storekeeper, Don Eugenio Alvarez. I can do no more than repeat to Your Lordship what I told you in my official letter, number 2, on the date of September 2, last, in regard to the rebuilding and repairs needed by the buildings and stockade of the square. Since then an accident has happened to the barracks which demands considerable repair, as Your Lordship will see by the enclosed copy of the verbal process which I have had made. I have also informed the Intendant thereof in so far as it touches the royal interests, and I tell it to Your Lordship so that you may order what you consider most advisable. May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

San Luis, September 17, 1799.

CARLOS DEHAULT DELASSUS (rubric).

Addressed: "Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos."

Inventory of documents:]

General inventory of all the papers, instructions, orders, and other documents belonging to the Civil and Military Government of the village of San Luis de Ylinois, which were delivered by the Lieutenant-Colonel by brevet and Captain of Grenadiers, Don Zenon Trudeau, to his successor in the command of these settlements, Lieutenant-Colonel Don Carlos DeHault DeLassus, to wit:

Firstly: A set of instructions for the Lieutenant-Governor of the posts of San Luis and Santa Genoveva and the districts of the river of Misuri and of His Excellency Count de Orrelly; dated February 17, 1770.

Another set of special instructions for the administration of justice in civil and criminal matters belonging to the Lieutenant-Governor of these settlements. Dated January 26, 1770.

A set of instructions printed in French, showing the method of sentencing and determining civil and criminal causes and other ordinary rights in general for the province.

Two copies, printed in French, for the regulation and concession of land.

Two copies, in French, for the manner of regulating previous contracts and mortgages.

A compilation, in French, of all the orders published in the villages of San Luis and Santa Genoveva, by order of His Excellency Count de Orelly. Dated January 23, 1770.

A note of the pay given to Illinois by His Excellency, Count de Orelly. Dated January 23, 1770.

A list of the documents given by Don Pedro Piernas to the special Lieutenant of the village of Santa Genoveva, Don Francisco Vallé, for his government and regulation.

A compilation of all the orders published and determined by order of Don Pedro Piernas in this village during his command.

A copy of the agreement which was made with the Little Osajas and Missaur [*i. e.*, Missuris] for the surrender of the homicides or in regard to other insults and thefts which the Indians of the above-mentioned tribes and others of the dependencies of the Misury River should commit against His Majesty's vassals.

A compilation of all the orders published by Don Francisco Cruzat in this village during the first three years of his command.

Official record [? *auto de opisicion*] of seals, inventories, declarations and other documents of the force of the storekeeper, Monsieur Lefevre Dubriso.

A detailed list of the presents which must be distributed among the twelve tribes of Indians, and the corresponding chiefs assigned by Count de Orelly, increased by the six tribes of La Bella Rivera [*i. e.*, Belle Rivière, or Ohio] of the English district, in obedience to article twelve of the instructions of His above-mentioned Excellency.

A report of the bread and corn used by the Indian tribes who came to receive the presents which were distributed to them in the village of San Luis, between May 20 and January 4, 1770, for the regulation of said supply in the future.

A copy of the orders received by Don Pedro Piernas from Governor-General Don Luis de Unzaga.

Seven letters with orders received by Don Francisco Cruzat during the first three years of his command of these settlements. Signed by Count de Galvez, and having inserted therein a law contrary to the abuse which has been introduced of having the debts which merchants and other persons presented in violation of said law, paid.

A set of instructions for the government of tavern-keepers and owners of billiard-rooms, and other matters, printed in French, October 18, 1769, by His Excellency, the Governor, Count Don Alexandro Arreylly (O'Reily).[1]

---

[1] A copy of this last-mentioned document printed in both Spanish and French, is among the transcripts recently made in Spain for the Mississippi Department of Archives and History. It is an extremely interesting document.

CVI

LIST OF DOCUMENTS DELIVERED TO DE LASSUS BY TRUDEAU, REPORT OF EXPERTS OF CONDITION OF FORTS AT ST. LOUIS, AND INVENTORY OF SAME — 1799

General Archives of the Indies, Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

A set of instructions or regulations made by the inhabitants of this village concerning the method to be followed in the keeping of their grain, as well as for the construction of the stockade which is to be made for the use of the community. Signed by the persons whom said habitants appointed at the general meeting which was held for this said purpose, September 22, 1782, and by the Lieutenant-Governor, Don Francisco Cruzat.

Another set of regulations made by the abovesaid habitants regarding the arrangement of the streets, fountains, roads, and other public works, which should be necessary in the village. Signed by the persons who were appointed by said habitants and by the Lieutenant-Governor, Don Francisco Cruzat, and dated September 22, 1778.

A compilation or register of the orders published and drawn up by order of Captain Don Fernando de Leyva during his command.

Another compilation or register of the orders published and drawn up in this village by order of Don Francisco Cruzat during the last seven years of his command.

A set of instructions of the orders to be observed by the Commandant of Santa Genoveva, signed by Don Francisco Cruzat, June 19, 1781.

Another set, printed in French, for the supervision of physicians and surgeons.

Another set of instructions to be observed by the Lieutenant-Governor of these settlements, signed by Don Bernardo de Galvez, May 9, 1778, with some secret Articles.

Another set of instructions to be used by the Commandant of the posts of this province concerning what is to be supplied to the families who are destined for the settlements of said posts, signed by Count de Galvez, under date of February 10, 1778.

Fifty-four letters, written by the Governor-General to Captain Don Fernando de Leyva, during his command in these settlements.

An official letter, written by Don Pedro Piernas to the Governor-General of this province, Don Estevan Miró, from the place of Pansacola, in regard to the trade of the Indian tribes of the Misoury river.

Five official letters, written by the Intendant-General of this province, Don Martin Navarro, to Don Francisco Cruzat, among which is an order of the King to the effect that the habitants of these settlements shall not pay the tithes as they were accustomed to do in the time of the Jesuits.

Fifty official letters from the Governor-General of this province including various orders from the King which Don Francisco Cruzat wrote during the last seven years of his command.

A compilation of the orders published and drawn up by order of Captain Don Manuel Perez, during his command.

A general book in which are noted the acts and other things which have been made and passed by the Lieutenant-Governor of this western district and which are deposited in the archives of this village of San Luis de Yllinois, to wit:

The acts and other instruments which were made by Don Pedro Piernas, from the year 1770 to May 14, 1775.

The acts and other papers and instruments made and passed by Don Francisco Cruzat, from May 15, 1775 to June 14, 1778.

The acts and other instruments made and passed by Don Fernando de Leyba and Don Francisco Cartabona, from June 18 to September 23, 1780.

The acts and other instruments made and passed by Don Francisco Cruzat, from September 24, 1780 to November 23, 1787.

The acts and other instruments made and passed by Don Manuel Perez, from November 25, 1787, to July 17, 1792.

The acts and other instruments made and passed by Don Zenon Trudeau, from July 17, 1792 to [*blank space in manuscript*].

Two registry books wherein are noted the concessions granted by the Lieutenant-Governors.

One hundred and fifty-seven official letters containing various orders, written by the Governor-General to Captain Don Manuel Perez during his command.

A set of instructions, dated March 8, 1792, from Baron de Carondelet, Governor of this province.

Act of Incorporation of the Trading Company of the Upper Misury, dated May 5, 1794, and the approval of the Governor-General, dated July 18, of the same year.

Idem, a copy of the regulations of the Governor-General for the trading of the Misury, and the division of the same which has been made up to the year 1797, exclusive.

A contract, executed by the general Government with Don Agustin Choteau, for the construction of a fort among the Osage tribe, and the official communication which accompanies it.

An official communication of the Lieutenant-Colonel, Don Carlos Howard, in the style of instructions for the Government, to the Lieutenant-Governor; with another report of the Governor-General of this province, approving the same.

A set of instructions, from the Governor-General of this first province, September 9, 1797, for the administration of many settlers.

A royal decree, dated January 20, 1792, in regard to bequests.

Another of April 12, of the same year, in regard to the militia uniforms.

A pardon from His Royal Majesty, dated February 16, for the deserters.

Another comprising the seamen, dated February 23, 1793.

A royal decree declaring war against France, May 25, 1793.

Agreement between His Majesty [and] the King of Great Britain.

A treaty of friendship, boundaries, and navigation concluded between the King our Sovereign, and the United States of America, October 27, 1795.

A royal resolution, amplifying the pardon of September 18, 1794.

The treaty of peace between His Majesty and the French Republic, July 22, 1795.

A despatch from the Governor-General which commanded and provided for arbitration between Don Carlos Sanguinet and the power of attorney of Captain Don Francisco Collell for the determination of the lawsuit between them.

Another despatch from the same Governor, ordering that creditors to the property of Don Bentura Collell be cited, so that they may represent through themselves or their attorneys their right; and so that Manuel Andres Roque may deliver his account of his management of the properties of the above-mentioned Collell.

Another despatch ordering Don Luis La Beaume to pay Don Santiago Vincent a sum of pesos and having done that exactly, to go to Nueva Orleans, under appointment as attorney; 1798.

Acts undertaken for the discovery of the author of the violent death suffered by the woman, Josefa Beaugenoce, widow of Hunau, and in which are found proof against the mulatto, Ysaac, slave of Señora Campe, who is a fugitive.

An account with justificatory documents which was delivered and deposited in these archives by Manuel Andres Roque, the attorney of Captain Don Francisco Collell, for the collection of the property sequestered for the brother of this Bentura Collell, dated September 16, 1798.

Idem, three hundred and eighty-three official communications of the Governor-General during the command of Don Zenon Trudeau.

Idem, seventy-two official letters from the Intendant-General of this province to the same person.

San Luis, July twenty-nine, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine.

Carlos DeHault DeLassus.
Zenon Trudeau.

Attestation:]

San Luis de Yllinneses, September 16, 1799.

I attest that this is a copy of his original document which remains in my possession, as well as the above-mentioned one of these archives under my charge.

Carlos DeHault DeLassus (rubric).

Letter from Alvarez:]

Copy.

Lieutenant-Governor and Sub delegate of the Royal Treasury:

Don Eugenio Alvarez, storekeeper of the city of San Luis de Yllinois, with the due respect, informs Your Grace that, by virtue of the order which Your Grace was pleased to send him yesterday in regard to it, he gathers information from the Sergeant of this detachment, Justo Martin, in which the latter says what I copy: "The sergeant of the picket informs his Commandant that all one side of the barracks is ruined [*abariado*], and all the dungeon and kitchen full of water [*se llueve*], San Luis, October 10, 1799." In consequence, Your Grace ordered me to go immediately to the fort, with all formality, according to the command of the Intendant, and see what there is in the buildings to be repaired, so that the said buildings may not be completely ruined, and so that the troops and prisoners may not suffer. The petitioner immediately informed Your Grace in an official communication of the same day that he had no order from the Intendant to incur any expense without a previous order from the said gentleman, however small an expense it might be. He set forth in the same official communication what was intimated to him, under date of May 24th, of last year, and that the said Intendant makes him responsible for any expense which should be incurred in the future, as he has said, notwithstanding, that he had the written order of Your Grace's predecessor for the repairs of the shed of the barracks which a storm had blown down. Your Grace replied to this what I copy: "Since the leaks and the wetting of the troops in their barracks, which the King gives them in this post, and since the storms of a short time back have ruined said buildings, and, perhaps, if they were not inspected and repaired it would be the cause of their ruin, it is necessary that they be inspected immediately, and in case it is necessary repair that which can have no hope for the approval of the Intendant for the conservation of the royal interests, on account of the great distance from this place to the Capital.

In this consideration, and in the fulfilment of the order, the petitioner went immediately to make the inspection of the barracks and prison in person and he found them such as was described by the sergeant [*el parte ha sido producido por el Sargento*]. But since he does not have a perfect knowledge of the repairs which must be made, he desires from Your Grace an order for experienced workmen to go to register the barracks and under oath to tell in the presence of Your Grace what is necessary in the above said buildings, and having made this investigation, that Your Grace order that the materials necessary may be bought under your direction, and that you give advice thereof to the Intendant on the first occasion of what has been commanded and ordained. This is a grace which he hopes to merit from your great justification. San Luis de Yllinois, October 11, 1799.

EUGENIO ALVAREZ.

Appointment of Experts:]

San Luis de Yllinois, October 11, 1799.

Juan Bautista Ortez and Luis Tison, master carpenters, both intelligent for the investigation which is desired, were appointed as experts and examiners of the damage of the buildings of the fortress of this city which was caused by the last storms. They are to take the required oath to declare before me and the witnesses appointed *ex officio*, Don Augusto Chouteau, citizen and member of the Board of Trade of this city, and Don Joseph Robidou, Militia Lieutenant of the same city, the conditions of the damage caused in the barracks by the said storms, so that the necessary measures may be taken for the good service of the King. CARLOS DEHAULT DELASSUS.

Acceptation by Witnesses:]

In the village of San Luis de Yllinois, on the eleventh day of October, of the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine: I, Don Carlos Dehault Delassus, Lieutenant-Colonel of Infantry, Intendant-Governor, and Subdelegate of the Royal Treasury in this Upper Luisiana, summoned into my presence the witnesses appointed *ex officio* in the preceding decree, namely, Don Augusto Chouteau and Don Joseph Robidou. They accepted that charge and took oath to exercise it faithfully and legally and signed together with me, the Lieutenant-Governor, who attests it.

AUGUSTO CHOUTEAU.
JOSEPH ROBIDOU.
CARLOS DEHAULT DELASSUS.

That same day, month, and year, I, the said Lieutenant-Governor and Subdelegate of the royal treasury, summoned before myself and into the presence of the witnesses, Juan Baptista Ortiz and Luis Tison, experts appointed to investigate the losses above-mentioned. They have accepted their appointment and sworn before God and on the cross to exercise their duty thoroughly and faithfully to their loyal knowledge and understanding as it is required of them. They affixed their signatures, together with the witnesses cited, and with me, the Lieutenant-Governor, who attests the same.

JUAN BAPTISTA ORTIZ.
LUIS TISON.
AUGUSTO CHOUTEAU.
JOSEPH ROBIDOU.[1]
CARLOS DEHAULT DELASSUS.

---

[1] Robidoux.

Register of Inspection

In the village of San Luis de Yllinois, October eleventh, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine: I, Don Carlos Dehault Delassus, Lieutenant-Governor and Subdelegate of the Royal Treasury of Upper Luisiana, went to the fortress of this city accompanied by the experts, Juan Baptista Ortez and Luis Tison and the witnesses, Don Augusto Chouteau and Don Joseph Robidou, and the storekeeper, Don Eugenio Alvarez, who having pointed out, according to the orders, specified above, the buildings which are mentioned, to the experts appointed to register and condemn what they considered useless, and so that what should be worth repairing, they should advise to be put in entire repair. In consequence, the said experts have inspected the buildings which were pointed out to them with the minuteness and care which were required and it was intimated to them that they should tell what they found useless and no good, as well as what was worthy of repair.

Firstly: the said storekeeper, Don Eugenio Alvarez, pointed out to the abovesaid experts the barracks which are used by the troops for a lodging. They having well examined it, on all sides, as was ordered, in their inspection, and having made an examination of the master walls of the barracks, after they had placed their levels on the walls of this edifice where they found at the northern side that the great wall had yielded and lost altogether the high joints of the carpentry, and that that makes the building liable to fall at the first hard winds that come along this autumn, at the very time when it might be least expected, inasmuch, as the wall is open in all its extension and ready to break in two, they believed this opening to have been forced by the roof and weight of the carpentry and timbers which cover the roof of said barracks which rests on the center of the wall, and that the roof would not fail to fall completely, if the remedy is not applied in order that it might be avoided. They hope that the season will permit the work to be completely erected, starting from the openings for the windows and doors, in case that the lower part is not found out of order. But it is difficult to inspect without destroying the upper part of the wall, in consideration of the fact that it cannot be registered until one reaches the separation of the said wall. Consequently, they judge it indispensable to set props immediately for the support of the building and to support them with bits of strong timber, capable of supporting the barracks, until it may be placed in security and thus avoid total ruin and accidents which may happen to the destruction of those living therein.

From this place they went to the vault near the said edifice which is used as a dungeon and which is continued by a kitchen entirely covered with shingles. They have advised that the push of the walls of the large edifice had been too much for it, and it was altogether out of plumb; that its roof, or covering, had given so much that it did not have the necessary slope to shed the rainwater, and that if the walls of the said [first] building fell [*adjecientes*] they would infallibly cause the indispensable ruin of the other. Consequently, they believe that the roof ought to be raised also, even with the openings of the windows, in order to give a greater slope for the water. If all the rest is found in a good state of receiving a new wall, which cannot be determined, yet they believe that it will not be at all prudent to make use either of the prison or of the kitchen, because it appears that the walls have generally been pressing in within all their elevation. The said experts and witnesses affixed their signatures with me, the Lieutenant-Governor, and I attest it.

JUAN BAPTISTA ORTEZ.
LUIS TISON.
AUGUSTO CHOUTEAU.
JOSEPH ROBIDOU.
CARLOS DEHAULT DELASSUS.

A copy of the original, which I send to the principal accountancy of the exchequer [?] and province of Luisiana and I attest it. San Luis de Yllinois, given *ut supra*.

EUGENIO ALVAREZ (rubric).

Inventory of Fortifications:]

In the village of San Luis de Yllinois, July twenty-nine, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine, we, Don Carlos DeHault DeLassus, Lieutenant-Colonel of Infantry, Lieutenant-Governor and Subdelegate of the Royal Treasury of Upper Luisiana, and Don Zenon Trudeau, Lieutenant-Colonel by brevet, and Captain of Grenadiers of the regular Regiment of this province, went to the fortress of the said city and ordered to be made a formal inventory of its condition and situation, both of its stockade, ditch, and the other buildings which it encloses, as well as of all the buildings which surround the said city belonging to the department of fortifications, accompanied by the storekeeper of the same, Don Eugenio Alvarez. It was commenced in the following manner:

A fort of wood, thirty toises square, with four half-bastions; the stockade quite rotten; and forty-seven stakes fallen to the ground, and the gate as well with eight esplanades, useless.

Idem: the ditch ruined and entirely useless.

EDIFICES CONSTRUCTED WITHIN THE SAID FORTRESS

Barracks built of stone, fifty feet long by twenty-five wide; with a kitchen, fourteen feet square and a vaulted dungeon eleven feet long by fourteen broad; the kitchen and the dungeon useless because the rain passes through the vault and roof.

Idem: a weapon room, built in the garret of the above-mentioned barracks where the ammunition weapons of these royal magazines are placed in racks.

Idem: a powder magazine, vaulted in form, built of stone, fourteen feet long by twelve wide, in good condition.

Idem: one utterly useless well.

Idem: one tower, built of stone, in bad condition and needing repair.

Idem: one tower, built of stone, in bad shape, and needs repair.

Idem: four towers, built of stone, twenty-five feet in diameter, each of which needs a banquette to raise the musket loopholes.

Idem: a tower, built of cedar wood, two stories high, in good condition, located in the southern part.

Idem: one bastion in the northern part with a guard-room and a tiny powder magazine, all built of stone and in good condition.

Idem: one demi-lune, on the river bank, on the north side, built of stone, and needing repair.

After having examined the abovesaid buildings and fortifications which are specified in the present inventory, the undersigned gentlemen affixed their signatures together with the storekeeper abovementioned. Given *ut supra.*

CARLOS DEHAULT DELASSUS (rubric).
EUGENIO ALVAREZ (rubric).
ZENON TRUDEAU (rubric).

CVII

INVENTORY OF THE CIVIL AND MILITARY ARCHIVES OF NEW MADRID — 1799

General Archives of the Indies, Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

Letter from DeLassus:]

Adjoined I send Your Lordship the inventories of the civil and military archives which I have delivered to the Commandant of that post Don Roberto Mekay [McCoy], according to the command of Your Lordship in your official communication of April 13, of this present year. May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

Nuevo Madrid, June 30, 1799.

CARLOS DEHAULT DELASSUS (rubric).

Addressed: "Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos."

Inventory No. 1:]

General inventory of the Official communications and orders of the Governors and other chiefs; correspondence with the American chiefs; and the muster-rolls of the troops of this post, which are conserved in the archives of this post, and which I, Don Carlos Dehault Delassus, Lieutenant-Colonel, by brevet, of the royal armies in the regiment of Luisiana, deliver by order of Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, Brigadier of the royal armies and Governor of these provinces, to the militia Captain, Don Roberto Mekay, with the wrappers in which they are enclosed, the numbers specified and these signed by my hand.

Number 1. Instructions for the command of this fort and settlement of Nuevo Madrid; forms for the oath of fidelity; instructions asking for land: all given by Don Estevan Miró to Don Pedro Fouché, when the latter came to take command of this post.

2. One package containing the official communications of the Governors for the years, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, and 99. The contents of each one is explained in the wrapper holding them and the years above-mentioned are placed separately by themselves.

3. One package containing the official communications of the Intendants for the years, 95, 96, 97, 98, and 99, respectively. The

contents of each one are explained in the wrapper holding them, with the years above-mentioned by themselves.

4. One package containing two hundred and ninety-four official communications of the Governors for the years 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, and 99, separated by years, their quantity being specified in the margin.

5. One package containing 349 official communications of the Governor of Nachez, the Commandants of the Spanish posts, and other persons, who have corresponded in this post from its creation, as is mentioned in the wrapper enclosing them.

6. A wrapper containing letters from the military chiefs of the troops of the United States of America to the Commandant of that post, on various occasions.

7. A wrapper containing the numbered documents of the voyages made by Don Tomás Power, in the United States on matters concerning, and at the order of, the Government, for the years 96 and 97, delivered to Don Roberto Mekay under seal.

8. A wrapper containing four lists of the crews of the gunboat "El Rayo" and the lighter "El Principe de Asturias," which were stationed at this post.

9. One package containing the muster-rolls of the troops, sailors, and militia employed in this post and its district from the year 91 until that of this date inclusive.

10. Wrapper containing, as is mentioned therein, the official communications and various other documents to Don Pedro Fouché, when he was Commandant of this post.

Nuevo Madrid, June 12, 1799.

CARLOS DEHAULT DELASSUS (rubric).

Delivered,

ROBERT M'COY (rubric).

Inventory No. 2:]

General inventory of the papers, titles of possession, records, etc., etc., which are conserved in the archives of this post, which I, Don Carlos DeHault DeLassus, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Regiment of Luisiana by brevet, and Lieutenant-Governor by appointment, of this Upper Luisiana, deliver, by order of Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, Brigadier of the royal armies and Governor of this province, to the militia Captain, Don Roberto McCoy, with the wrappers in which they are enclosed, the number specified in this by separation into various branches with their indices, explaining in detail for each number those documents which it contains, said index made by myself.

1. An index, containing forty-four sheets of paper, in which are found three hundred and forty-three signatures of persons who have taken the oath of fidelity, from July 21, 1791, to the end of May of the year 1796.

2. Another index of said oaths of fidelity, which contains eight sheets of paper in which are found one hundred and nine signatures of persons who have taken the oath of fidelity, from July 18, 1796, to May 1, 1799.

3. Another index, containing 47 concessions of land for houses in the village, of the year 1791.

4. Another index for said year, 1791, containing 47 concessions of land for houses in the village, which have been abandoned.

5. Another index, containing 6 concessions of land for houses in the village, of the year 1792.

6. Another index, containing 25 concessions of land for dwelling houses, of the same year, 1792.

7. Another index, containing 11 concessions of land for houses in the village, which have been abandoned, of 1792.

8. An index, containing four concessions for dwelling houses, which have been abandoned, of the same year, 1792.

9. Another index, containing eleven concessions of land, for dwelling houses, in the year 1793.

10. Another index, containing thirty-nine concessions of land for houses in the village, in the year 1793.

11. Another index, containing fifteen concessions of land for houses in the village, which have been abandoned, in the year 1793.

12. Another index, containing eight concessions of land for dwelling houses, which have been abandoned, in the same year 1793.

13. Another index, containing eight concessions of land for dwelling houses, in the year 1794.

14. Another index, containing four concessions of land for houses in the village, in the said year, 1794.

15. Another index, containing one concession of land for a dwelling house, which has been abandoned, in the year 1794.

16. Another index, containing seventeen concessions of land for houses in the village, in the year 1795.

17. Another index, containing seven concessions of land for dwelling houses, in the said year, 1795.

18. Another index, containing two concessions: one of land for houses in the village, and the other for a dwelling house, which has been abandoned, of the year 1795.

19. Another index, containing twenty-one concessions of land for houses in the village, of the year 1796.

20. Another index, containing twenty-five concessions of land for dwelling houses, in said year, 1796.

21. Another index, containing three concessions of land for houses in the village, in the year 1797.

22. Another index, containing eighteen concessions of land for dwelling houses, in said year, 1797.

23. Another index, containing ten sales of properties, in the year 1791.

24. An index, containing thirty-five sales of properties, in the year 1792.

25. Another index, containing twenty-seven sales of properties, in the year 1793.

26. Another index, containing twenty-four sales of properties, in the year 1794.

27. Another index, containing eighteen sales of properties, in the year 1795.

28. Another index, containing thirty-one sales of properties, in the year 1796.

29. Another index, containing twenty sales of properties, in the year 1797.

30. Another index, containing twenty sales of properties, in the year 1798.

31. Another index, containing ten sales of properties, in the year 1799.

32. Another index, containing eight bonds, in the year 1791.

33. Another index, containing ten bonds, in the year 1792.

34. Another index, containing twelve bonds, in the year 1793.

35. Another index, containing seven bonds, in the year 1794.

36. Another index, containing four bonds, in the year 1795.

37. Another index, containing thirteen bonds, in the year 1796.

38. Another index, containing nine bonds, in the years 1797 1798, and 1799.

39. Another index, containing eight mortgage bonds, for the years 1791 to 1796, inclusive.

40. Another index, containing twelve mortgage bonds, agreed upon in the years 1797, 1798, and 1799.

41. Another index, containing seven authorizations, in the year 1791.

42. Another index, containing ten authorizations, in the year 1792.

43. Another index, containing eight authorizations, in the year 1793.

44. Another index, containing seven authorizations, in the year 1794.

45. Another index, containing eight authorizations, in the year 1795.

46. Another index, containing eight authorizations, in the years 1796, 1797, and 1798.

47. An index, containing five exchanges of land between the years 1795 and 1799.

48. Another index, containing records of removal: one for the year 1795, another for the year 1799.

49. Another index, containing two records of liberation: one for the year 1792; and the other for the year 1793.

50. Another index, containing twenty-seven records of marriage, between the years 1791 and 1799.

51. Another index, containing fourteen wills and bequests, between the years 1791 and 1799.

52. Another index, containing three proceedings and trials, for the years 1792, 1793, and 1794.

53. Another index, containing nine proceedings and trials for the year 1795.

54. Another index, containing six proceedings and trials for the year 1796.

55. Another index, containing four proceedings and trials for the year 1797, besides the process of the contraband of Sicklin.

56. Another index, containing five proceedings and trials for the year 1798, besides the criminal process of the negress Nanas.

57. Another index, containing sixteen declarations, given between the year 1791 and 1798.

58. Another index, containing three appraisals and arbitrations, in the year 1798.

59. Another index, containing sixteen instances, concluded in the years 1797, 1798, and 1799.

60. Another index, containing nine receipts and registered notes between the years 1791 and 1796.

61. Another index, containing twenty-one receipts in various matters, between the years 1791 and 1799.

62. Another index, containing seven accounts and notes belonging to various persons.

63. An index, containing five inventories, estimations, public sales, and liquidations, after death, in the years 1791 and 1792.

64. Another index, containing nine inventories, estimations, public sales, and liquidations of them, in the years 1793 and 1794.

65. Another index, containing ten inventories, estimations, public sales, and the liquidations of them, in the year 1795.

66. Another index, containing eleven inventories, estimations, public sales, and liquidations of them in the year 1796.

67. Another index, containing five inventories, estimations, public sales, and liquidations of them, in the year 1797.

68. Another index, containing nine inventories, estimations, and public sales, and liquidations, in the year 1798.

69. Another index, containing four inventories, estimations, public sales, and liquidations in the year 1799.

Additions to the following Indices.

To this, Number 61, a receipt, Juan Summers, in all twenty-two receipts.

To this, Number 60, four royal registers of Francisco Berthiaume, in favor of Pedro Saffray.

To this, Number 62, two indices:

The one, Number 1, containing eight notes belonging to the habitants who have sold, given by Don Pedro Foucher.

The other, Number 2, containing thirteen of the same notes for flour, distributed by Don Tomas Portell.

To index, Number 32, a bond from Francisco Champagne in favor of Francisco Derousse.

To index, Number 50, two contracts of marriages, one of Jose Laplante with Genobeba Thebault, and the other of Don Francisco Lesieur with Cecilia Guilbault.

To Number 5, six sheets of paper, in which are found the signatures of one hundred and twenty-nine persons who have taken the oath of fidelity, between November 30, 1789 and April thirteen, 1791.

To Number 2, one sheet of paper, in which are found the signatures of twenty persons who have taken the oath of fidelity, between July 9, 1798 and November 24 of the same year.

Nuevo Madrid, June 12, 1799.

Carlos DeHault DeLassus (rubric).

Delivered,

Robert M'Coy (rubric).

CVIII

INSTRUCTIONS TO DON ROBERT McCOY OF NEW MADRID — 1799

General Archives of the Indies, Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

Letter from De Lassus:]

I am sending Your Lordship under present covers the copies of the instructions which I have left for Don Roberto McKay [McCoy] in order that he may observe them until Your Lordship approves them or prescribes new regulations. I have not sent it to the Subdelegation of the Royal Treasury of this post, for I believe that it will be included in that of San Luis, as are the other dependent posts of the said post, and, further, since McKay [McCoy] showed me that he is of little concern about this charge, as he does not understand Spanish sufficiently and does not write it.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years. Nuevo Madrid, June 30, 1799.

Carlos DeHault DeLassus (rubric).

Addressed: "Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos."

Instructions:]

No. 1.

Instructions to be observed by Don Roberto M'Cay [McCoy], Captain commanding His Majesty's galliot "l'Active" and the post of Nouvelle Madrid.

1. Whenever troops from the United States of America pass, in addition to the ordinary formalities, which he shall observe, he shall inform Monsieur the Governor on the first occasion (and immediately by means of a courier if they pass in great number) with minute details specifying the number and what kind of boats, the number of officers, troops, artillery, ammunition, etc., as exactly as he can, and he will also let me know of it on the first occasion [of a despatch] (or by courier).

2. If he receives, by way of the Ohio, any certain news of a rupture between the United States [and this colony], before having been advised of it by Monsieur the Governor or by me, he shall

immediately send those news to the Governor by a courier, addressing the news from that post to that of Camp de l'Esperance with a pirogue belonging to the King, and the sailors of the galley to the number that he deems necessary, so that they may leave as quickly as possible. He shall require the sergeant commanding the said post of l'Esperance to have the letters sent on hastily as far as the post of Baton Rouge. He shall send me an overland express, so that I may give him my orders in consequence thereof. But in all sudden cases of this kind which may happen, he shall make what arrangements he considers suitable and necessary for his defense, making use of his galley, militia, troops, arms, and ammunition, always holding as his chief principle not to omit any means for causing respect to be paid to His Majesty's boundaries, and instantly informing Monsieur the Governor and me of his measures.

3. If it should happen that he is in danger of being attacked, either by the enemies of the State or by evil vagabonds, he shall inform me immediately, so that I may procure him the necessary aid, according as circumstances permit me.

4. At the first information that he receives from me that St. Louis and its dependencies are undergoing the same fortune, he shall immediately prepare to leave with his galliot for the post of Ste. Genevieve, embarking therein the troops and all the provisions and war supplies, etc. In such a case, he shall order the cavalry company to march overland to the said Ste. Genevieve, and shall give the command of this post, to the oldest militia officer. If in the same case he thinks some preparations are being made on the Ohio against this post, and finds no boat ready for sending the four cannon of the fort to Baton-Rouge, he shall have them spiked and thrown into the river before his departure (an extremity which, at the present time, there is no appearance of seeing realized).

5. When he receives couriers with despatches for me coming from the lower part of the river, if it is the courier Frazer, he shall order him to come as far as St. Louis: if it is by way of the boats of the Yllinois, he shall allow them to continue, unless he receives advice from Monsieur the Governor to order them to immediately proceed to me. If it is by any boat that does not pass by this post, and the letters are from the Governor or from the Intendant, if no prompt occasion presents itself, in order not to delay the service, he shall send them to me at St. Louis by a courier, whom I shall pay at the ordinary price. If he receives the news from the Ohio from

the chief of the American army, whether for Monsieur the Governor or for me, if he who carries them does not pass farther and if he says that it is urgent, he shall send them himself by a courier.

6. No habitant shall be admitted unless he conforms in all points to the new regulations of Monsieur the Governor, dated September nine, 1797. Under these conditions he shall ask me for land which shall be chosen, according to the model [form] which I shall send him on my arrival at St. Louis.

7. Above all he shall not permit the sale of any concession, unless the seller be ruled by article 15 of the above regulations.

He shall formulate the least number of documents of pettifogging processes [i. e., lawsuits] possible, by inducing the habitants to arrange their matters as peacefully as possible, or by arbitration; excepting nevertheless sales and other necessary records which must be kept in the archives for public security.

8. If there should happen any case, whether of assassination or anything else, such as theft, etc., he shall arrest the guilty persons and shall have them locked up. He shall take the first depositions, shall have the purview of the crime exposed, and shall send me the original papers at the first opportunity, so that I may judge whether the affair is of such a nature that it is to be terminated here, or whether it ought to be sent to Monsieur the Governor.

9. Since the post of l'Esperanza is in his proximity, he shall succor it on all occasions according to his ability and means, on the requisition of Commandant Augustin Grande.

10. The picket of the regiment of Luisiane composed of one sergeant, one corporal, and [*blank in manuscript*] soldiers and one soldier of the artillery corps shall remain here at his orders, and he shall employ them according to the circumstances of the service. For this, either for sortie or arrest, he shall hand the order in writing to the said sergeant, and he shall daily watch to see that the service is exactly performed for the guard and property of the fort. In case that after he has found its individual persons at fault, and has ordered their punishment, if that does not suffice, he must keep them in prison, and shall give me detailed advice thereof, so that I may have them brought and treated according to the rigor of the ordinances. He shall not suffer the soldiers or the sergeant to spend the night outside the fort.

Copied in accordance with the original.

CARLOS DEHAULT DELASSUS (rubric).

No. 2.

Instructions which are to be observed by Don Robert M'Coy, Captain commanding His Majesty's galliot, "l'Active," and of the post of Nouvelle Madrid, in all that concerns the royal finances.

1. He shall give order in writing to the storekeeper of the effects existing in this post at his disposal for the service of the King, both in arms, ammunition, food, etc., which he shall have distributed for this purpose.

2. He shall give a written order for the daily rations of the troops and the galley and others for the garrison at this post after the lists of the reviews, and if the monthly report signed by the Commandant of each corps shall be distributed by the storekeeper in the ordinary manner as is done today.

3. When the Commandant of Camp de l'Esperance asks him for the supplies for his post, whether of food or other things, he shall deliver the order to the storekeeper to have them prepared with all the requisite formalities, and then he shall send them by the King's pirogue and the sailors whom he shall take from the galley as is the custom now.

4. If any boat or galley belonging to the King passes, which asks for provisions, he shall hand the order to the storekeeper, ordering them given according to the ordinary form.

5. If he receives positive advice from Monsieur the Governor that a convoy or squadron with troops is about to pass by that post, whether to stay there or to go farther, he shall advise the storekeeper in writing, so that the latter may make preparations in accordance with the regulations that I shall leave him to the effect that, if such a thing happens, he is to supply provisions and other things which shall be necessary according to the number of the troops and other employées who may arrive.

6. Whenever the Indians come and ask something of the present which is destined and laid aside for them he shall hand the order to distribute them to the storekeeper, in proportion to their number; but, for the time being, there is nothing more than provisions with which to supply them, Monsieur the Intendant, not having yet prescribed the presents.

7. After the examination of the third month of each third of the year, the storekeeper shall send me, on the first opportunity, the report of the sailors of the galley, and of all the other persons employed for the King at that post, so that I may have the pay checks

which are due them made out and send them on the first occasion for the delivery to those to whom they belong.

8. If anything belonging to the King, such as gunstocks, buildings, etc., etc., becomes useless or is lost, or has to be repaired, he shall hand an order in writing to the storekeeper to have it done according to the orders of the Intendant, and with the formalities necessary. This shall be true of all things which he absolutely cannot wait to present to me so that I may judge whether their replacing or repair is absolutely necessary, or whether the decision of Monsieur the Governor, or of Monsieur the Intendant is to be awaited.

9. I authorize the storekeeper to deny the right of the inhabitants of the United States who shall sell here the products of the said States such as meat, flour, liquors, etc., and he shall not permit the sale of drygoods, except linen for household use and other things which are manufactured in the settlements of Kentucky.

Copied in accord with the original.

CARLOS DEHAULT DELASSUS (rubric).

CIX

FEAR OF ENGLISH INVASION OF UPPER LOUISIANA AND AMERICAN INVASION OF LOWER LOUISIANA — 1800

General Archives of the Indies, Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

Secret:

Synopsis:]

The military Governor of Luisiana gives information of the fears of a general invasion on the part of the English against the settlements of Ylinoa in that province, and the outrages to which the left bank of the Mississipi River is exposed daily because of its lack of settlements.

Letter to Urquijo:]

Your Excellency:

After having informed Your Excellency of occurrences to the 8th of the current month, yesterday I received a letter from the Lieutenant-Governor of the settlements of Ylinoa, Don Carlos Dehault Delassus, Lieutenant-Colonel by brevet in the regular regiment of Luisiana. He informs me in that letter, dated August 20, last, that he has had advices that the English of Canada are making efforts to get together an expedition with the various numerous Indian tribes of the upper Mississipi and attack our possessions under the direction of the famous interpreter and leader, Langlade, as Captain. The latter on May 26th, 1780, covered the invasion made by the Englishman, Essex,[1] against the said posts where a terrible massacre was made, although the English were driven out.

As soon as the American Commandant of Peoria, Juan Miller, repeated it to him [*i. e.*, De Lassus] and confirmed the news by proving that he had kept back by presents of liquor the collars (girdles made of woven beads which serve as credentials to the Indian messengers in order to convoke the tribes when one attempts to declare war) which were passing among the Indians, he [*i. e.*, De Lassus] sent a cask of brandy to meet his [*i. e.*, Miller's] expense. By such presents, the Indians will continue to maintain good relations with us, if, at the same time, also the above-mentioned American Commandant is requested to observe article 5 of the treaty of friendship and boundaries.

---

[1] This is Capt. Hesse, who was in command of the English and Indians when St. Louis was attacked.

At the same time he [*i. e.*, De Lassus] learned that the English were about to hold a council with the Indian tribes at the Straits of the Lake of Santa Clara [*i. e.*, St. Clair] and as the greater part of them inhabit American territory, he also wrote to the Commandants of the posts of the United States, namely Vincennes, Michilimakina and others, despatching the letters by two faithful habitants with orders to ascertain at the same time and communicate whatever they can discover in regard to this matter. Each one of them was promised a pay of two hundred pesos and the storekeeper of those posts was ordered to provide victuals for two months for the number of six hundred men. He [*i. e.*, De Lassus] made ready artillery, arms and ammunition, and advised the Commandants of that jurisdiction to have their militia ready, for whom he sent guns, taking as many military dispositions as have appeared suitable for the defense of those remote countries.

The Lieutenant-Governor, Lassus, was very confident of their success of his preparations, their own defense and that of the possessions and families being an incentive to those habitants which has made them show generally in the review the most ready and effective determination so that all the citizens of the capital city of San Luis, even those past sixty years, have presented themselves with their carabines, thus giving a good example to the young men. It is believed that if the crisis comes, the greatest difficulty will be to restrain these so that they may not exhibit too great rashness. The letter concludes by assuring me that, although he counts only on the forces which he has there, I may rest assured of his zeal which, assuredly, will not allow him to neglect any effort which he believes suitable for the defense and honor of our arms, in order that the settlements under his command may be conserved.

The inclement season of the winter and the distance of five hundred leagues do not permit the prompt sending of any reënforcements to him for they would arrive late, as it is not possible to penetrate by water, for the river, from forty leagues below those settlements, is frozen from November until March. However, the great valor of the Lieutenant-Governor, seven hundred and eighty-six good militiamen, and the many Indians, who can be mustered in the eleven villages under his command, remove all fear from me. Meanwhile, for my part, I am doing my best to arouse the Indian tribes to resist or destroy the premeditated invasion of Langlade.

In my former letters I have shown how advisable it will be to form new settlements on the west bank of the Mississipi, with faithful men, well inclined toward our Government, in order to oppose the continual projects of the Americans; and my idea is corroborated by the letter which I received from Captain Don Joseph Vidal, who is in Concordia, opposite Natchez, at the same as the above-mentioned letter. Its recital informs me of the insults to which the territory of His Majesty are daily exposed without this Government being able to take any resolution to restrain them. Nor is it easy to think of it, for rules are lacking in immense wildernesses for such consummation. In these circumstances I would not be performing my duty if, in spite of appearing troublesome by repeating many times that Your Excellency deign to carefully consider these provinces, which it seems are, at present, enflamed by the desires of many ambitious men; keeping in mind whatever I have set forth for its conservation and progress, as well as the other privileges which I claim devolve on the authority of the Government, and fulfilling the duties of this advice to the Commandant-General of the interior provinces, so that, so far as he is concerned, he take the measures which he considers fitting to check the clandestine trade of Phelipe Noland. May God preserve Your Excellency many years. Nueva Orleans, October 19th, 1800.[2]

MARQUIS DE CASA-CALVO (rubric).

Addressed: "His Excellency Don Mariano Luis de Urquijo."

Copy.

Letter from Vidal:]

Don Phelipe Noland, resident in the territory of Mississipi is preparing to go to the deserts of the kingdom of Mexico, and get all the grazing stock possible, in order to make use of it in the United States. According to true reports, which I have had, he is already enlisting Americans who can open up a passage with their carabines and defend themselves against anyone who attempts to oppose them. His strength will consist of thirty or forty armed men, among whom are six or eight Spaniards of the Kingdom of Mexico, who came with Noland the last time that he brought one thousand head of horses from there to the territory of Missisipi. His plan is not to approach or pass through our posts in this province nor through those of the Kingdom of Mexico, but to go to a place south of Las Arcas,[3] where it is said that there is said to be a great number of sufficiently docile Indians, and a considerable number of grazing stock. It is a place which has never yet been visited, except by a few persons, and very seldom. I think that he will go overland, past Baya Pierre,[4] which I have reported to Your Lordship as the only place where he can go in order to carry into effect his bold project, unless he passes by this post. Although with forces very inferior [to his] I shall endeavor to restrain him by stratagem from doing that. Noland is so sure of not meeting with any opposition, that he boasts that he can conquer a hundred men who would oppose him with twenty men.[5]

---

[2] Sebastian Calvo de la Puerta was a native of Havana, and brother of Pedro, the first Count of Buena Vista, and by royal despatch of May 20, 1786, a Castilian title was granted to him and he accordingly became Marquis of Casa-Calvo. At the age of 18 he accompanied O'Reilly with whom he was intimate, to Louisiana. He served many years in the army, and for a time was in command of the Island of San Domingo when that Island was threatened with insurrection. From San Domingo he returned to Cuba, and from Cuba was sent as Military Governor to Louisiana upon the death of Gayoso de Lemos, being later commissioned by Charles IV to deliver the colony to the French Repub-

---

lic. After the cession of Louisiana he remained in America as commissioner of boundaries. In 1805 he went from New Orleans to Texas to guard Spanish interests there, but was suspected by the officers of the United States of fomenting dissatisfaction among the people and the Governor of Louisiana sent him his passports, with request to leave New Orleans, and accordingly he retired to Pensacola and from there went to Madrid. There his relationship to and intimate friendship with the minister of war, Gonsalo O'Farrile, induced him to join the party of Joseph Bonaparte, who had been made king of Spain by Napoleon, and as a reward he was appointed Lieutenant-General. During the reign of Joseph he held several important positions, but at the end of 1813, when the French were driven from the Peninsula, he was forced to flee to Paris. He died there in May 1820, after living for six years on remittances sent him from Cuba by his daughters, Catalina and Maria Antonia, as all his possessions had been embargoed. His property was restored after his death to his son Pedro. The latter had been Captain of a regiment of Royal dragoons from childhood and was afterwards promoted to be Colonel of the militia, but by his unbalanced conduct incurred the displeasure of the Captain-General of Cuba, Miguel Tacon, and was exiled to Puerto Rico and Madrid, dying at the latter place October 19, 1837. The family was carried on through the younger of the two daughters of this son. Pezuela, Diccionario, vol. i, 344. From a recent decision of the United States Supreme court it appears that the Counts of Buena Vista had the exclusive privilege of maintaining an abbatoir in Havana, deriving the right from a grant made to O'Reilly.

[3] Arkansas Post?

[4] Bayou Pierre.

[5] Philip Nolan traded in the Spanish country southwest of the Mississippi as early as 1785. It seems that he represented Gen. Wilkinson in his trading operations and other negotiations with the Spanish officials at New Orleans.

Will Your Lordship permit me to express my opinion to you regarding this attempt, which if it is not intercepted, will result in evil consequences to this province, and the interior provinces of the Kingdom of Mexico. Noland is a capable person, an intrepid and enterprising man, and, the chief thing, has a perfect knowledge of all those places, even more so than that held by the natives of those countries. The men whom he takes with him are just so many others who, in a short time, will all be at the head of other undertakings

---

From his letter it appears that he was his intimate friend. Although it is not certain, he probably was a native of Maryland, at any rate the name of Philip Nolan appears in the Census of 1790; Wilkinson was also a native of that state. Nolan was a man of adventurous disposition. He made one of the earliest maps of the country between the Mississippi and Rio Grande and presented this map to Carondelet. In 1796 he wrote Wilkinson that he had returned from a third trip in this *unknown land* and brought back 250 horses. In 1797 he prepared for another trip and Ellicott, he says assisted him "in acquiring a more perfect knowledge of astronomy and glasses," and Gayoso himself made him a "present of a portable sextant." Although he was engaged in an illegal trade between San Antonio and Natchez it is quite clear that in the beginning the authorities at New Orleans favored his trips. Gradually, however, these officials seem to have looked upon his enterprises with less favor and became suspicious of the effect of his trips, especially since expeditions grew larger and his men were better armed and equipped. Then, too, other adventurers began clandestinely to enter the Spanish domains. Gayoso also became his enemy. This letter of Vidal gives voice to the general feeling of distrust pervading the minds of the Spanish officials. When in 1799 Nolan prepared to start into the Spanish territories again, Caso Calvo, who succeeded Gayoso, gave orders that his entrance be resisted. Accordingly when in 1800 he crossed the river at Nogales, the present Vicksburg, with about twenty men all well armed, a corps of 50 Spanish cavalry intercepted him, but owing to the defiant attitude he assumed, did not dare to attack him, and he proceeded west. He crossed the Red River, reached the Trinity and Brazos, and erected a log fort and enclosure ostensibly to protect himself against the Indians. He captured 300 wild horses and placed them in this enclosure and then visited the Comanche Indians, among whom he had lived for two years and with whom he was a favorite. In a letter about his life among these Indians he says that although "successful in the chace, victorious in little feats of activity" he could not "altogether Indianfy" himself, and after living this life for two years he returned to the Spaniards. But after he returned from this visit among the Comanches, he found that a troop of 150 Spaniards were on his trail, having been sent out by Gen. Nemesio Salcedo, the Governor of the Internal Provinces. On the 21st day of March, 1801, early in the morning, this troop captured six of his men near his station and when day dawned the Spaniards opened fire on his log fort with a swivel gun they had brought along on muleback. In the very beginning of this struggle Nolan was shot through the head by a ball of this swivel gun, but the Americans valiantly defended themselves until their ammunition was exhausted, and then a parley followed, and it was agreed that they should be allowed to go back to the states, not as prisoners, but in company with the Spaniards. When they arrived at Nachitoches, however, Gen. Salcedo ordered that they be taken to Mexico. For a long time their case occupied Spanish officials in Mexico and Spain. In the meantime some of them died, and one was shot finally for the crime of this invasion, and the others were pardoned. A negro who accompanied Nolan on this last trip asked permission to bury Nolan, which the Spanish officer granted, but he cut off his ears to show the Governor of Texas how well he had executed his commission.

similar to this. In a way, the Americans will commence, little by little, to mine those precious possessions of His Majesty, and usurp from him all the rights and favors which he has reserved for his vassals. The American Government will always affect ignorance of such expeditions which this adventurer or others undertake, and even when it comes to have a sure knowledge of them, its energy is so weak in the execution of its laws, that they will never be able to prevent them from going from the territory of Mississipi to the other side to commit depredations, for the greatest thing on which they base their liberty is in saying that they are free to go wherever they please. This is very frequent, and our Government has had examples that expeditions have been prepared against this province without the consent of Congress; for, if an expedition, which is going to conquer, with hostile intent, is formed without any trouble, how much more easy will it be for bands of ten, twenty, or more men to be formed in the territory of Mississipi, in order that they might pass very secretly to the other side of the river, opposite Bayu Sierse[6] [*sic*], and thence, without any trouble, since they will meet no opposition, to follow the track of Noland and return without any trouble. For this same reason, and for many others which are not hidden from Your Lordship's penetration, I have had the honor of reporting to you that opposite Bayu Pierre, this post and a district in the proximity of Chafalaya are the only ones from that capital [*i. e.*, in Nueva Orleans] to Las Arcas, where the habitants of the territories of Mississippi can enter our posts from the west bank of this river, and these are the places where they can make their export trading of merchandise and introduce stock, both cattle and horses.

Very contrary to the idea which some men claim, namely that it would be prejudicial to form a settlement on the other side of the river, is the idea that if we do not have any settlements, we shall leave the port open for adventurers and bandits and that they may enjoy with insolence and impudence, and take possession of the products which these immense countries of His Majesty's domains yield.

I remember that an official employe of importance told me in conversation, that it was not strange that some malicious fellows of evil life, not being able to live under the Government of Natchez, come to this side of the river and settle, as is their wont, inland, without the permission of our Government, if there is no authority to prevent them; there are examples of this.

---

[6] Bayou Sarah.

If settlements are founded on the banks of the Mississipi, in the places indicated, the Commandants can be informed concerning the crossings which happen in the jurisdictions under their command, and prevent both such persons and the habitants from passing beyond the limits over which they judge it prejudicial to permit them to pass. It will be very practicable for them to enrol militia in their settlements, which they can order to march in any case like that of Noland, or others which may happen. One hundred families in Bayu Pierre, and two hundred in this place and extending as far as the place called Catagula, may carry out this object and will thus lock the doors which are open from the territory of Mississipi to our posts on this side of the river. In Chafalaya, a guard will be needed; for that is the place where some now cross and pass with stock knowing that there is a post here which will restrain them; but if there is no settlement what would hinder them from going to commit disorders, robbery, and rapine?

The discontent is so general, at present, among the habitants of Natchez, that I make so bold as to assure Your Lordship that more than two hundred respected families will emigrate to this side of the river as soon as the Government permits it. Not an instant passes but they come to ask me when settlements will be founded on this side of the river. I reply to them that, as soon as Your Lordship shall consider it advisable, you will give me your orders on this particular. They desire to know your answer some time in the coming month, in order to found their settlements, so that they may make their next harvest in the land conceded to them. I have heard with surprise that in the place called Catagula, which is only forty-five miles from this post.[7] As it is so near I am thinking of going there soon to investigate those who are there and inform Your Lordship of what is happening there and I hope that it will meet Your Lordship's approval.

I inform Your Lordship of all the above in accordance with my obligation. May God preserve Your Lordship many years. Concordia, September 27, 1800. JOSEF VIDAL.[8]

Addressed: "Marquis de Casa-Calvo."

---

[7] There appears to be an error here on the part of the government employe who made this copy, which was sent to Urquijo. Doubtless the sentence was completed by a reference to a body of Americans having squatted at the place named.

[8] The Spanish Commandant of the Post *Concordia*, opposite Natchez, which was so named by him to show the amicable relations between the United States and Spain after the Treaty of San Lorenzo el Real. After the cession he went to Spain but returned and was a large claimant of land in Mississippi and Louisiana.

CX

PATRIOTIC DONATIONS AND LOANS MADE BY THE RESIDENTS OF UPPER LOUISIANA TO AID SPAIN IN THE WAR — 1799

General Archives of the Indies, Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

Letter from De Lassus:]

On the date of March 1, last, of this year, I received the same documents from the Intendant, Don Juan Ventura Morales, which Your Lordship was pleased to send under date of September 28 of this [*sic*] year, for the donations or loans for the needs of the war. In continuation, said gentleman writes me as follows:

"Enclosed, I send Your Grace a copy so that you may be informed and obey. You shall observe if the Governor, inasmuch as he has received the same order to take equal precautions, shall be able to send to His Lordship registers of the gifts which those vassals are making. You shall deliver other similar orders to that storekeeper, so that he may effect the collections, according to the contents of the royal decree. Since there is not a sufficient number [of these decrees], Your Grace shall hand an attested copy to the above-mentioned storekeeper that he may guide his actions thereby, and shall give me advice for mine, of its receipt, and that it is understood in its entirety, for the fulfilment of the sovereign will."

I have copied this for Your Lordship, in order that you may be fully advised. Under present covers, I send Your Lordship the copies of the above-mentioned registers of the posts of this jurisdiction.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years. San Luis de Ylinneses, September 18, 1799.

Carlos de Hault de Lassus (rubric).

Addressed: "Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos."

Upper Luissianna.

Voluntary and patriotic contributions, 1799.
Post and district of Nouvelle Bourbon.

General register of habitants of the post and district of Nouvelle Bourbon, who have subscribed to the patriotic subscription, obliging themselves to pay the amount of their respective contributions into the hands of Monsieur the Commandant of Nouvelle Bourbon, during the current month of November, 1799.

Names of the Contributors	Their Rank	Places of their Residence	Indication Showing the nature of their contributions
Don Pierre Charles de Hault Delassus de Luziere, Chevalier of the Grand Croix [i. e., Great Cross]*	Commandant of said post	In places of Nouvelle Bourbon	50 piastres. Piastres in leadorfurs
Antoine Lachance [1]	Carpenter	Idem	3
Paul Deguire [2]	Armorer	Idem	2
Joseph Teserot [3]	Planter	Idem	1
Jerome Matis [4]	Planter	Idem	1
Louis Tommelier [5]	Planter	Idem	3
Joseph Lachance [6]	Carpenter	Idem	2
Pierre Chevallier [7]	Planter	Idem	3
Gabriel Lachance [8]	Planter	Idem	3
Francois Lachance [9]	Planter	Idem	2
Louis Deguire [10]	Planter	Idem	1
Alexis Griffard [11]	Saltmaker	Idem	4
Joseph Cuture [12]	Planter	Idem	1
Hipolitte Bolon [13]	Interpreter among the savages	Aux Salines	12
Guillaume Vanburken [14]	Planter	Nouvelle Bourbon	2
Israel Dodge [15]	Planter	Idem	20
Samuel Bridge [16]	Cooper	Aux Salines	10
Noel Hornebek	Saltmaker	Idem	10
Guillaume Hellay [17]	Cooper	Idem	10
Jean Duval [18]	Saltmaker	Idem	15
Jean Callaven	Saltmaker	Idem	5
Benjamin Cox [19]	Planter	Idem	5
Jean Donahue [20]	Planter	Idem	10
Guillaume Strother [21]	Planter	Idem	5
Jean Hunkis [22]	Saltmaker	Idem	15
Jaque Farel [23]	Saltmaker	Idem	5
Jaque Meleane [24]	Planter	Idem	5
Joseph Eustin	Planter	Idem	5
Jeremie Perelle [25]	Saltmaker	Aux Salines	10
Joseph Donahan [26]	Planter	Bois Brule	10
Jean Rovert McLaughlan	Planter	Idem	10
Michel Burnea [Burnes?]	Planter	Idem	10
Jonas Nusam	Planter	Idem	10
Francois Clark	Planter	Idem	10
Louis Coyteux [27]	Planter	Idem	10
Benjamin Walker	Planter	Idem	5
Jaque Burnea [Burnes?]	Planter	Idem	5
Jaque Doyson	Planter	Idem	5
Joseph Boice	Planter	Idem	7
David Clark	Planter	Idem	5
Jaque Tomson [28]	Planter	Idem	1
David Streling [*sc.*, Sterling]	Planter	Idem	7

* Died [*sic* ?] from these appointments as Commandant of said post, which happened the last of November, 1799.

All these habitants are Canadians or Creoles, who settled long ago.

Names of the Contributors	Their Rank	Places of their Residence	Indication showing the nature of their contributions
Jean Hartlor	Saltmaker	Aux Salines	5
Guillaume Moore	Planter	Idem	5
Henres Turther [29]	Planter	Bois Brule	4
Guillaume Burney	Planter	Idem	5
Guillaume Roberst [30]	Planter	Idem	5
Benny Burnes	Planter	Idem	5
Jaque Davis	Planter	Idem	5
Elias Coen	Planter	Idem	5
Daniel Meredith	Gunsmith *	Idem	3
Jean Grenaval [31]	Planter	Idem	1
Tomas Donahue	Planter	Idem	5
Andres Cox	Planter	Idem	10
Gabes Sanborn	Merchant	Aux Salines	15
Tomas Femviik [32]	Merchant	Idem	15
Isaac Packaret [Packard?]	Merchant	Idem	10
Israel Danton	Saltmaker	Idem	10
Tomas Hart	Cooper	Idem	10
Bengamin Spincer [33]	Saltmaker	Aux Salines	2½
Guillaume Casvan	Saltmaker	Idem	15
Jean Paul [34]	Baker?	Idem	10
Augustin Heen	Saltmaker	Idem	10
David Rohzer	Saltmaker	Idem	10
Jesa Helay [35]	Planter	Nouvelle Bourbon	5
Joseph Gimes [36]	Planter	River au Vases	10
Guillaume Gimes [37]	Planter	Idem	15
Guillaume Morphy, Sr.[38]	Planter	Branch of the River St. Francois, called Savory	5
Heran Gearem	Planter	Idem	5
Guillaume Morphy, Jr.[39]	Planter	Idem	5
Salomon Georges [40]	Planter	Branch of the River St. Francois, called Savory	5
Guillaume Reed [41]	Planter	Idem	5
Tomas Maddin [42]	Planter	Au grand Marais [*i.e.*, at the Big Swamp]	20
J. Florver [43]	Planter	Riviere au Vases	10
Total of the present report			565½

* "Armiyrud" in transcript.

All these habitants are Canadians or Creoles, who settled long ago.

All these habitants are emigrants from Germany, England, Ireland, and the United States of America, and have recently settled in this colony.

---

[1] A son of Nicholas Caillot, dit Lachance. See particulars as to this family, Houck's History of Missouri, vol. i, p. 366, note 59.

[2] Paul de Guire, son of Andre de Guire, dit La Rose, was Captain of fort St. Joachim. In 1792 Paul de Guire married Marie Ann Caillot, dit Lachance, a daughter of Nicolas Caillot, dit Lachance and Marie Ann Giard, of Kaskaskia.

[3] Joseph Tessereau, son of Jean Baptiste Tessereaw and Marguerite Sarasin, his wife, natives of Montreal, Canada. Joseph Tessereau in 1794 married Elizabeth Levard.

[4] Jerome Matis owned land in the Ste. Genevieve Common field.

[5] In 1777 a Louis Tonnelier had a land grant adjacent to Ste. Genevieve.

[6] See ante, note 1.

[7] Pierre Chevalier was the son of Andre Chevalier and Madeline Loisel of Fort de Chartres. This Andre Chevalier was storekeeper of the fort there, "garde des magazins du roy." He died in 1759.

[8] See ante, note 1.

[9] See ante, note 1.

[10] See ante, note 2.

[11] Alexis Griffard in 1777 married Marie Magdaleine Tirat or Tirard in Ste. Genevieve. He was the son of Alexis Giffard, sr., and Catharine Perrier, of Montreal, Canada.

[12] Joseph Couture, dit Lafrainaise. See ante, p. 91, note 43.

[13] Hypolite Belon, Spanish interpreter, came from Vincennes, where he made various land claims. He was afterwards interpreter for the United States, and in 1804 acted as such when the treaty was made between the Saukees and Foxes, which caused so much feeling among the Indians.

[14] This Van Burken or Burkloe.

[15] Israel Dodge, father of Gen. Henry Dodge, distinguished in western history, was at Fort Jefferson on the Mississippi, where he married Nancy Hunter, the mother of Henry Dodge. He afterwards separated from her and she married Ashel Linn, and became the mother of Lewis F. Linn, afterwards U. S. Senator from Missouri. Israel Dodge after this separation married Catharine Camp, the widow of Jean B. Guion, in Ste. Genevieve county. He and his son Henry were engaged in making salt on the Saline during the Spanish domination. His brother, John Dodge, also settled on the Saline.

[16] Samuel Bridge was a native of Massachusetts, son of William Bridge and Marie Porter.

[17] William Kelley from Kentucky.

[18] Jean or John Duval was a native of Nelson county, Kentucky, son of Miles Duval.

[19] Came to upper Louisiana from North Carolina. His wife was Sarah Fisher.

[20] John or Jean Donohue came from St. Mary's county, Maryland.

[21] William Strother, came from Virginia, and married Silvia Thompson at Ste. Genevieve.

[22] This name probably stands for John Hawkins, a native of Maryland. He was the son of Augustine Hawkins and Elizabeth Henley. John Hawkins married Rebecca Custard at Ste. Genevieve in 1799.

[23] A James Farrel had a land grant on the Saline.

[24] James McLane came from Virginia.

[25] Jeremie Perelle may be Pierçel. A Joseph Piercel from Maryland lived on the Saline.

[26] See ante, note 20.

Total of the present report, five hundred and sixty-five and one-half piastres, fifty-five piastres of which are to be received in kind at the Royal Treasury, on November 2nd of this present year, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine. The remainder will be sent to this post in lead or furs in the course of the said month of next November.

We, the undersigned Commandant of the Post and District of Nouvelle Bourbon, attest the present report of the voluntary and patriotic contributions, which amount to the sum of five hundred [and sixty-five] and one half piastres, as correct and true, and in accordance with the subscriptions sent to us by the contributing habitants of our said post and district. Given at Nouvelle Bourbon des Ilinois, thirty-first of [December ?] one thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine.

Pierre de Lassus de Luzieres.

I, Don Eugenio Alvarez, storekeeper of the city of San Luis de Ilinois, certify that the present copy is drawn from the original which is in my possession, and to which I refer; just as it was handed me by Don Carlos de Hault de Lassus, Lieutenant-Colonel, by brevet,

---

[27] Had a grant of land in Bois Brule bottom.

[28] Jacques Thompson from Virginia. married Sarah Cox, daughter of Ben Cox of North Carolina in Ste. Genevieve.

[29] Henry Tucker who came from Virginia, married in 1801 Eliza Ellis at Ste. Genevieve.

[30] William Roberts came from Pennsylvania, Cumberland County.

[31] John Greenwell.

[32] Thomas Fenwick came from Maryland.

[33] Benjamin Spencer.

[34] This John Paul claimed 1,000 acres of land in Bellevue valley, and proved that he had lived in the country many years.

[35] Jesse Healy?

[36] Joseph Grimes?

[37] William Grimes?

[38] William Murphy, sr., came from Tennessee and was the first settler, where Framington is now locateed.

[39] A son of William Murphy, sr.

[40] Solomon George settled on one of the upper forks of the St. François river in 1798.

[41] First settler in Bellevue valley.

[42] Thomas Madden a native of Ireland settled near the headwaters of Saline Creek, at what is now known as Coffman. He was Spanish Deputy Surveyor for the Ste. Genevieve district.

[43] Job Westover, a millwright, native of Plymouth, Massachusetts, born April 2, 1773, died April 1, 1838, in Washington County.

of the Infantry Regiment of Luisiana, and Subdelegate of the Royal Treasury, in an official communication of September two of the current year. It is in the French language for lack of a translator of our language. In order that this may appear for this purpose, I give the present, visoed by the said gentleman at San Luis de Ilinois September seven, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine.

O. K. EUGENIO ALVAREZ (rubric).
DE LASSUS (rubric).

UPPER LUISSIANNE; POST OF NOUVELLE BOURBON.

Patriotic contributions, 1799.

June thirty, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine, before us, Don Pierre Charle de Hault de Lassus de Luzier, Chevalier of the Grand Croix, of the Royal Order of St. Michel, Captain and civil and military Commandant of the Post of Nouvelle Bourbon, a dependency, appeared two deputies of the Indian tribe of the Abenakis, agents under the common domination of the Loups and domiciled in our district toward Riviere a la Pomme [*i. e.*, Apple River], sent by the chiefs of said tribe. One of those deputies is called Corbeau [*i. e.*, the Crow] and the other, Le Grand Considere [*i. e.*, the Great One]. Both are highly-regarded members of the said tribe. They were accompanied by Sieur Hipolite Bolon, interpreter for the savage tribes of this canton. Those deputies, after the usual ceremonies, declared to us that their tribe, having learned with pain that their good and respectable Father, the King of Spain, their noble protector, needed help by loans and voluntary subscriptions from his faithful subjects, in order to sustain and meet the enormous expenses of the war which His Majesty was forced to maintain and continue against his enemies, the duration of which had exhausted a large part of his finances, the said tribe has felt it a duty to advise us that they desired to contribute as the other faithful subjects of His Catholic Majesty to the said voluntary and patriotic gifts, and that in consequence all the members composing the tribe, were going hunting at this time in order to get and collect as many furs as possible. Those furs would be brought in the course of the next autumn by two deputies of said tribe to Monsieur the Governor-General of Luissianne at Nouvelle Orleans, in order that they might be placed at the disposition of His Catholic Majesty. Of that offer and declaration we have drawn up the present verbal process which was signed by the said Sieur Hipolitte Bolon, interpreter, in the presence of Sieurs Louis Tommelier and Camille de Lassus, our two witnesses, who affixed their signatures with us, the above said Commandant, on the day, month, and year abovesaid.

Hipolite Bolon.
Tommelier.
Camille de Lassus.
Pierre de Lassus de Luzieres.

[A certificate of the correctness of the present copy of the above declaration, given by Alvarez, September 7, 1799, and couched in terms similar to his preceding certification follows.]

List showing the gifts made to His Majesty in the post by persons employed by the Royal Treasury.

Interpreter Don Benjamin Fooy, three months' pay, at the rate of thirty pesos per month, which amounts to ninety pesos.

Benjamin Fooy.

Postman, Juan Trezay, two months' pay, at the rate of fifteen pesos, to be paid monthly, which amounts to thirty pesos.

Juan Trezay.

Campo de la Esperanza, July 24, 1799.

Agustin Grande.

In all 120 pesos.

[A certificate by Alvarez, of the correctness of this copy (in Spanish) dated September 7, 1799, and couched in similar terms to the other certifications given by him, follows.]

CITY OF SAN LUIS DE YLINOA.

Subscription of voluntary contributions of patriotism, made by the persons employed in the royal service in this said San Luis, to wit:

Signatures of the Subscribers	Military Men	Pesos
Santiago St. Vrain. de Lassus.	Don Santiago St. Vrain de Lassus, Militia Captain and at present commanding His Majesty's galliot "La Fleche"	40
Santiago Mackay	Don Santiago Mackay, Captain of the Costa, fifty pesos *juertes* from his future pay	50
	Employes of the Royal Treasury	
Eugenio Alvarez.	Don Eugenio Alvarez, storekeeper of these settlements, from his future pay, fity pesos *juertes*	50
At request of Nicolas Lecompte. [Witness] Joseph Horttiz.	Nicolas Lecompte; gunsmith employed for the Indians; with his writ, five pesos from his future pay	5
	Total amount of subscriptions,	145

San Luis de Ylinneses, October 6, 1779.

Eugenio Alvarez.

O. K.

De Lassus.

[Another certification of the correctness of the above list of subscriptions, given by Alvarez, and dated October 12, 1799, follows.]

VILLAGE OF SAN LUIS DE YLINOIS IN UPPER LUISIANA.

Subscription of the patriotic voluntary subscriptions offered by the well-to-do people of this city, in cash, paid immediately in tanned deerskin, at the rate of forty sueldos per libra, which is the current price in this country, because of having no other hard cash. It is purely a gift. To wit:

Signatures of the Subscribers		Pesos
Gregorio Sarpy	Don Gregorio Sarpy binds himself to deliver in money one hundred and twenty-five libras of tanned deerskin, which amounts to	50
Carlos Graciot.	Don Carlos Graciot, the same as the preceding	50
Carlos Sanguinet.	Don Carlos Sanguinet, the same as the preceding	50
L. P. Didier.	Monsieur Didier, thirty libras of furs of the same kind, which amounts to	12
F. M. Benoit.	Francisco Marie Benoit, seventy-five libras of the same, which amounts to	30
Patricio Leé.	Patricio Leé, fifty libras of the same, which amounts in pesos to	20
Pedro Chouteau.	Don Pedro Chouteau, one hundred and twenty-five libras of the same, which amounts to	50
Bernardo Pratte.	Don Bernardo Pratte, sixty-two and one-half libras, which amounts in pesos to	25
Silvestre Labadie.	Don Silvestre Labadie, the same as the preceding	25
Joseph Rovidou.[44]	Don Joseph Rovidou, one hundred and twenty-five libras of deerskins	50
Francisco Vallois. [Valle?].	Francisco Vallois, twenty-five libras, which amount to	10
Benito Vasquez.	Don Benito Vasquez, the same as the preceding	10
At the request of A. Andres. [Witness]. Joseph Hortiz.	Andres Landreville, the same as the preceding	10
Joseph Brazaux.	Joseph Brazaux, fifty libras of furs, which amounts in pesos to	20
Luis Labeaume.	Don Luis Labeaume, twenty-five libras of the same	10
Luis Coignard.	Luis Coignard, the same as the preceding	10
Joseph Hortiz.	Don Joseph Hortiz, sixty-two and one-half libras, which amounts in pesos to	25
Antonio Reilhe.	Don Antonio Reilhe, twenty-five libras, which amounts in pesos to	10
St. Cyr.	Jacinto St. Cyr, one hundred and twenty-five libras of the same, which amounts in pesos to	50
Santiago Chauvin.	Don Santiago Chauvin, twenty-five libras of the same, which amounts in pesos to	10
Antonio Soulard.	Don Antonio Soulard, seventy-five libras of the same, which amounts in pesos to	30
Mackey Wherry.	Mackey Wherry, fifty libras of the same, which amounts in pesos to	20
Pasqual Cerrée.	Pasqual Cerrée, fifty libras of the same furs, which amounts in pesos to	20

---

[44] Robidoux.

Signatures of the Subscribers		Pesos
Juan Baptista Trudeau.	Juan Bautista Trudeau, twelve and one-half libras of the same, which amounts in pesos to.........	5
Manuel de Lisa.	Don Manuel de Lisa, twenty-five libras of the same, which amounts in pesos to......................	10
Augusto Chouteau.	Don Augusto Chouteau, two hundred and fifty libras of said skins, which amounts in pesos to........	100
For Don Antonio Vincent Buy,[45] [Witness] Joseph Hortiz.	Don Antonio Vincent Buy, one hundred and twenty-five libras of the same, which amounts in pesos to	50
	Total of subscription,	762

San Luis de Ylinois, October 6, 1799.

EUGENIO ALVAREZ.

O. K.

DE LASSUS.

[A certification by Alvarez, given October 12, 1799, as to the correctness of the preceding list, is couched in like terms to his preceding certifications.]

---

[45] Bouis.

[46] The above lists of persons in upper Louisiana, as well as those lists published earlier in these volumes, are especially interesting and valuable as showing to how great an extent Americans and immigrants to the United States were creeping over into Spanish territory. From the great Spanish fear of American aggression, so often expressed in the present documents, and the well known characteristics of Americans who settle in any considerable number in an alien territory, one can easily imagine that a pretext would not have been wanting to annex the western country, had not the purchase of Louisiana solved the problem. Some of those mentioned above were rovers, and it is not unlikely that the names of a number of those unidentified will be found in the annals of the lower Mississippi Valley.

CXI

GREAT COUNCIL BETWEEN DE LASSUS AND THE OSAGES — 1800

General Archives of the Indies, Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

No. 51.

To the Intendant, May 8, 1801.

A few days after having received Your Lordship's official letter, bearing date of June 9, last, by which Your Lordship advises me to authorize the chief Les Cheveux Blancs [*i. e.*, White Hair] of the Osage tribe to destroy the band of La Chesniere [1] or, rather, to resolve to make war upon them, that chief presented himself with a band of his tribe, composed of two hundred men, or so, bringing with him the Commander of those who committed the murder of the habitant and his son of Marameck in the month of March last. They arrived at this post the 28th day of August.

On the 29th of the month I received them in the presence of all the militia officers of this post, and of the most notable habitants. The great chief Les Cheveux Blanc presenting to me the Commander, addressed me as follows: "My Father, after having wept for much time because those of my tribe have acted against their children, I have at last been able to bring to thee the commander of those who came the last year to kill thy children. He has come voluntarily, so that thou mayst dispose of his life. We have come in force, because, through the evil actions of our deaf ones who refuse to hear my words, which I am continually repeating to them every day, and, for this reason, I say, we are at war with the other Indian tribes which has obliged us to come armed, in case we should be attacked on the way, so that we might defend ourselves. But I assure thee, that, while with me, no one of mine has dirtied the road of thy territory; and I promise thee that while we remain here no one of them will insult thy people. The chief La Cheviene [*sic*] also comes with me, and many of his band, with the desire that thou mayst unstop his ears and tell them for thyself that they should reunite to my village and cease their raids against the whites. Pedro Chouteau and I have already advised them of that, but yet they have not listened to us, for they are still separated. That is all I have to tell thee." Then the chief, La Chenieres [*sic*] arose and told me his desire, namely, that his band should be reunited as the great chief and Chouteau petitioned, but that his young men would not listen to him, and as yet they had been unable to make them determine to do so; that he had come to lead to him the commander and that he deserved pity.

---

[1] The "Chaneers"— the Arkansas branch of the Osages, living principally on the Arkansas and White rivers.

Then the other chiefs addressed me, having considered, with but little difference, the matter in the same tenor, and all of them always finishing by saying that they were poor, destitute, and worthy of pity.

Then Don Pedro Chouteau immediately petitioned me to let the commander talk, and, having consented to that, caused him to approach, and he said to me: "My Father: Of a truth, I am commander of those who committed the murder of thy son and I have voluntarily surrendered myself so that thou mayst not do evil to my tribe. I am a man and I do not fear death. Do with me what thou wilt."

I replied in general to the chiefs: "You say that you have accompanied the commander of the barbarians who came to surprise my Children who were without any defense in their homes and without any neighbor who could give them aid, and without being at war with us, on the contrary, the most perfect peace on our part, they have killed them like the traitors that they are. You look upon him [*marais*, for *mirais* (?)] as such traitor and criminal. As such I guard him and you others may all retire, for I have nothing else to reply. Tomorrow at the same hour you shall present yourselves, in order that I may talk to you. And thou, traitor, who givest thyself, I will put thee for the present in chains, and thou wilt be treated in thy imprisonment with all the humanity which we are accustomed to give to our greatest enemies until that thy fate is decided."

Then Don Pedro Chouteau had them immediately march out and they went without offering the least word.

Then I immediately had the commander taken to the fort, where they placed a pair of irons on him, and he is still there.

That same day, as this is a very numerous tribe, consisting of more than one thousand five hundred warriors (1500), I have sought all means to show them our desire of living with them in the greatest harmony. I have believed that I could regale them by inviting them to dine with me and with all the officers and the two brothers, Don Pedro and Don Agustin Chouteau, the two principal chiefs, Cheveux Blancs and La Cheniere, and two influential men. They have been very well satisfied with that demonstration.

Next day, considering that the number of times that the great chief, Les Cheveux Blancs, with the most influential men of that tribe, presented himself in this post is rare, I thought it useful in that condition of affairs to give them an idea of the generosity of our monarch in regard to them (which can be compared to that of Yngletera and much more so in a moment when we are advised that that nation is distributing presents by collars in order to excite all the Indians to attack us). And since in case that this project is realized on the part of our enemies, the English (and I believe that it will be very advisable, as I have determined, to employ them as they are one of the most warlike tribes by whom we are surrounded), all of these considerations have made me determine to give them a present in the name of this Government. I ordered that present to be placed in the middle of the hall of this province, where they have been distributed, as appears by the subjoined relation, in the presence of the officers and notable persons of this post, by the storekeeper, Don Eugenio Alvarez, after I had addressed them, as I promised on the preceding day, as follows:

"Yesterday you have delivered to me the member of your tribe who is the cause of the murders of my Children, the whites. Not the blood of all the band which is an accomplice to these murders would be sufficient to dry the tears of their relatives, if I did not restrain them from rising up in order to avenge themselves upon you; for I declare myself satisfied because you have brought me, of you own will, and I advise you that you have done well to bring him, since, on the contrary, you would not have seen any trader in your village and I would have deprived you of all aid of the greatest necessity, as I had already ordered Pedro Chouteau (as in fact I had advised him). Furthermore, three days ago I received an order from your Great Father of Nueva Orleans, to the effect that if you did not give satisfaction for those murders, and that, if the band of La Chenieres did not reunite with that of Les Cheveux Blancs, I was to oblige the latter to destroy them and employ the possible means by summoning for that purpose all the Indian tribes and the whites of the other shore to attack you. I repeat this to you so that the chief, La Cheniere, and his band, may open their ears and learn this order. I hope that, on arriving at your village, you will tell this word to all yours, and that the chief La Cheniere will prove to me that he is a man that tells the truth and that he will reunite his band to the rest of the tribe, as he promised me yesterday when eating at my table and seated at my side.

"Until this day I had never been able to imagine that your tribe would be so deaf in hearing my words, and I thought that you had not received the words which I have sent to your great chief, Les Cheveux Blancs, since the time when I first arrived here, when I appointed him the great chief of your tribe, and advised him then, that, because of the perfidious behavior of his warriors, the Damas Indians, desired to attack you. You have proved that I spoke the truth, since you have received one stroke from the Kikapus which you suffered from for a long time. And now I assure you that if you do not change your conduct, you will be continually troubled.

"The second word I sent, when you stole horses in Marineck, and the third, when you committed the murders of that unhappy one, his child, and wounded another. By that word, I warned you that I was going to petition our Great Father and seeing that you did not understand I was very much angered against Pedro Chouteau, and had resolved not to send him any more to your tribe, but to send him to Nueva Orlenas, thinking that, by [not] keeping my word, he was the cause of the evil which you have done." Thereupon, Don Pedro Chouteau petitioned me to address them and said to them, with the greatest firmness in the following terms: "You have just heard what our Father thought of me and that he was arranging to send me into the hot country for the love of your barbarous actions, since, when I tell you a word on the part of my Father, you already see that it is true, since here I wish to justify my conduct with you. Here you are, about one hundred persons in this room, without counting those who are outside and who are listening to me. Now if there is one of you who is ignorant of all the precautions that I am taking to prevent the undertaking of these evil leaders let him come forward and say so.

"As you are all not ignorant that the same commander who is now a prisoner, some days before he came assured me that he was going hunting, just so you all lie to me when you are about to do wrong notwithstanding the recommendations which I am making for you. Therefore, you always lie to me, since you always are doing evil. Now then, will no one speak and where are those who in their village have so much tongue? Who will speak now?"

All kept the greatest silence and he ended his speech with a cry of approval [from them].

Then Les Cheveux Blancs took the word: "My Father, thou hast spoken well to us, and if my tribe had listened to thee, we would not now be in war with all the tribes who inhabit these lands.

"Pedro Chouteau has communicated to me thy good words, and I have told them to my tribe; but they refuse to listen, and the reason is that, although I am chief of my tribe, as thou of thine, thy means fail me. For, according to our custom, I have no officers like those whom thou hast here, and these soldiers who, when thou commandest them to obey thy word, observe it immediately. But wilt thou believe that I bewail daily the sorrow that our young men cause thee? But since they have just heard thy word from thy own mouth and since many influential men and good men of my tribe are here, I hope that, when we return to our village, they will publish thy word, and all will reunite in my village. Thou mayst rest assured that I shall always do what I can do that we may have no trouble now and in the future with our Father the Spaniard."

Then the chief, La Cheniere, arose and assured me that when he reached his village he would employ all his efforts to observe my word and would reunite with the rest of the tribe, but he asked me for the prisoner, who had a numerous family.

I replied to him that the prisoner would remain here, as had already been advised to them, until Your Lordship should dispose of him, but that I promised them that as soon as Don Pedro Chouteau notified me of the reunion of La Cheniere to the others that I would write Your Lordship in order to obtain your grace (as I really do petition of Your Lordship in case that this reunion is voluntarily realized); and that, on the contrary, I should petition that he be made to descend [to Nueva Orleans] and be executed. This is what I repeated to them several times and they replied with signs of approval.

Then I told them that, although we were living in a time when things were most necessary, "I give you what is here before you, so that you may divide it among yourselves, and may take to your village the tokens of good friendship with which I have received you, and so that you may recount the manner in which you have been fed; that bread and meat have been given you liberally; and that you have been made welcome in all the houses of my Children when you have presented yourselves, especially in the houses of Chouteau, where you are stopping, and where he leaves you as if you were their owners." They ended by acclamations of joy and took the presents which they were to distribute.

The following day, the 31st, the Commandant of the fort of Carondelet, Don Pedro Chouteau, petitioned me, on the part of the tribe, saying that they desired if I consented, to remain here a few days, because their intention was to petition the other tribes for peace; that they had sent deputies to those who lived in our neighborhood; and that as they saw this earth clean, they considered themselves in all security and were unarmed (as really Don Chouteau, whom I advised [to that effect] in order to avoid all unforeseen accidents to take from them all their bows and the few guns which they had brought [has succeeded] in having them observe). I have consented to let them remain for so essential an end for the tranquillity of these posts. But I have not cared to be a party in their treaties of peace under any consideration. I have only told them that I desired it for their welfare, and permitted Don Pedro Chouteau (as they venerate and respect him, and I have noted that they made no move without consulting him) should be present at their councils. That was done on the following day, with the tribes of the Chawanons [*i.e.*, Shawnese] Avenakis [*i. e.*, Abenakis], Kikapous, and Miamis, from which resulted a general peace among them. That night, in testimony thereof, they all danced together and all left on the fourth day of this month.

I must not forget to tell Your Lordship that I have been greatly surprised at seeing the confidence which this tribe places in the Messrs. Chouteau, and the manner in which they get along with them. For this general peace (although it is possible that it may be of short duration) they are the ones who have greatly contributed to it, in particular, Don Pedro Chouteau, Commandant of Fort Carondelet. Assuredly he greatly merits the thanks of this Government, for the firm and equitable manner with which he maintains this tribe and that in sight of everybody, so that from the time that these two gentlemen have kept this tribe under their care, their raids against us have diminished in great part until this time; and, furthermore, when, on an occasion like this, I know no one in this post (notwithstanding the gain that they could derive from them) who have resolved to lodge them and entertain them with the generosity which these gentlemen showed. For one must consider that, besides the presents which I have given them, I believe that the amount of what the Messrs. Chouteau will have supplied them with in the week that they have remained in this post, lodged in their houses, cannot but cost them a great sum.

During all the time that they remained in this post, I had taken all the precautions necessary for the public quiet, in case that they had any hostile intentions, but not one of them committed the slightest act of license and that, I repeat, is due in great part to the Messrs, Chouteau.

I inform Your Lordship of all of this so that, if you find it convenient to decide as I petition for the prisoner, namely to give him his liberty, when I shall know positively that they have reunited into one single village and merit the approval of Your Lordship in this matter, for which I have arranged.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years. San Luis de Yllinois, September 25, 1800.

Carlos DeHault de Lassus (rubric).

Addressed: "Marquis de Casa Calvo."

[Below is given the "report of the presents presented to the tribes of the Big Osages by order of Don Carlos De Hault De Lassus, Lieutenant-Governor and Subdelegate of the Royal Treasury in these districts, which were supplied by Don Augusto Choteau, citizen and member of the Board of Trade of this city to the storekeeper, Don Eugenio Alvarez." This list of presents which was given in another document, entitled in our translation "Presents to the Osage Indians" (*q. v.* post) follows therein a letter written by the Marquis of Casa Calvo from Nueva Orleans, May 8, 1801.]

CXII

PRESENTS TO THE OSAGE INDIANS

General Archives of the Indies, Seville — Audiencia of Santo Domingo, Luisiana and Florida.

The Intendant *ad interim* of Luisiana approves the presents given to the Indians by the storekeeper of Illinois by the order of the Lieutenant-Governor as a result of their great council.

Despatch to the Intendant:]

The King has been pleased to approve the list of the presents given by the storekeeper by order of the Lieutenant-Governor of those settlements as a result of the great council which he celebrated with the principal chiefs of the tribe of the Big Osages, Cheveux Blancs[1] [*i. e.*, White Hair], and his band of about two hundred men (who brought in one of the individuals who had murdered one of those habitants and his son), in order to reunite to the nation the band of the chief of the Chener[2] which had broken with them and was committing continual thefts and atrocities, and in order to have them ready at hand to defend the said settlements. I inform Your Grace of this by royal order for your knowledge in reply to the letter of the 13th of July last, number 57. May God preserve Your Grace many years. Aranjuez, April 23, 1802.
Addressed: "The Intendant *ad interim* of Luisiana."

Letter from the Intendant:]

YOUR EXCELLENCY: Under number 1, I send your Excellency a copy of the report which I received from the Military Governor *ad interim*, the Marquis of Casa Calvo, enclosing document number 2, which contains the lists of the presents given by the storekeeper of Ilinois, September 6th of last year, by order of the Lieutenant-Governor of those settlements, Don Carlos de Lassus, as a result of the great council which the latter celebrated in the month of the preceding August with the principal chief of the tribe of the Big Osages,

---

[1] Or Cahagotonga. See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. i, p. 193.

[2] Clermont or Clarmont was the principal chief of this portion of the tribe.

Cheveux-Blancs, and his band of about 200 men (who brought in one of the individuals who has murdered one of those habitants and his son) in order to reunite to the tribe the band of the chief of the Chenier [*sic*] which had broken with them and was committing continual thefts and atrocities, and to keep them ready at hand in order to defend said settlements which were threatened by the English of Canada; so that Your Excellency having understood the just reasons which have preceded the making of the said presents which I have ordered admitted as an item in the accounts of the abovesaid storekeeper, Your Excellency may deign to bring it to the consideration of the Sovereign so that he may give his royal approbation to this extraordinary expense.

May God preserve Your Excellency many years.

Nueva Orleans, July 13, 1801.

Your Excellency,
RAMON DE LOPEZ Y ANGULO (rubric).

Addressed: "His Excellency the Secretary of State and of the General Office of the Treasury of Spain and the Indies."

Letter from the Military Governor:]
Letter number 57.

1. The Lieutenant-Governor of the settlements of Ylinois held, in the month of August of the past year, a great council with the principal chief of the tribe of the Big Osages, Cheveux Blancs, and a band of about two hundred men who brought in one of the individuals of that tribe who had murdered a habitant and his son of the settlement of Marameck, in the month of March preceding.[8] The opportunity was seized on that occasion to attract them to the idea of reuniting to the tribe the band of the chief of the Chemere [*sic*] which had broken away from the body of the tribe and is committing continual thefts and atrocities in the vicinities of Natchitoches, Akanzas, and Ilinois, their barbarous raids and pillagings extending even to the province of Texas. He succeeded in inducing them to make a general peace with the neighboring tribes who were in continual war with them, and finally induced them to keep themselves ready for the first advice in order to defend those settlements which were nearly threatened by a general invasion of Indians instigated by the English of Canadá. These circumstances, together with the forcible fact of the Osages being a belligerent tribe who have more

---

[8] Adam House and son.

than one thousand five hundred warriors, and the fact that the English are distributing large presents among the Indians with a very liberal hand, induced him to distribute the presents which may be seen in the enclosed list. I find it, indeed, excessive and, accordingly, I have so announced to that Lieutenant-Governor, but, at the same time, I consider it of the greatest importance to keep that tribe well affected, for their discontent might cause great confusion and the shedding of much blood in Upper Luisiana, ruining, perhaps, the fifteen settlements of which it is composed, which are inhabited by 6,911 souls. Its villages alone, of San Luis, Santa Genoveva and Nueba Borbón, have sent to the capital in furs, lead, and flour, 51,478 pesos this year. All of them are susceptible of the most rapid and flourishing progress, if their population, agriculture, and commerce are encouraged as is fitting. Therefore, I hope that Your Lordship will be pleased to have these expenses honored, as it is necessary to approve them. May God preserve Your Lordship many years. Nueva Orleans, May 8, 1801.

The MARQUIS OF CASA-CALVO.

Addressed: "Don Ramón de Lopez y Angulo."

List of presents:]

2. San Luis de Ylinois. Indians. 1800.

Relation of the presents given to the tribe of the Big Osages by order of Don Carlos de Hault de Lassus, Lieutenant-Governor and Subdelegate of the Royal Treasury in these districts; and supplied by Don Augusto Chouteau, citizen and merchant of this town, to the storekeeper, Don Eugenio Alvarez. To wit:

One hundred muskets.
One hundred pounds of powder.
Three hundred pounds of bullets.
Four pieces of limbourg cloth.
Fifty blankets of two and one-half *puntos*.
Fifty white shirts.
Fifteen pounds of vermilion.
Two hundred pounds of tobacco.
Three hundred flints.
One gross of awls.
One gross of gun-wad worms.
One gross of flint-steels.
Eight pieces of woolen ribbon.

Two gross of large knives.
Six kettles.
Fifty hatchets.
Six hats.
Four aunes of silk ribbon.
Four dozen mirrors.

This present was distributed in the Government hall before the undersigned officers of the militia, and with the supervision of the said Subdelegate, in San Luis de Ylinois on September six, one thousand eight hundred.

BENITO VASQUEZ, SR.
BENITO VASQUEZ, JR.
SANTIAGO SANCHEZ VRAIN.[4]
ANTONIO SOULARD.
PASQUAL TERRE.[5]
ANTONIO DUBREUIL.
JOSEPH ROUBIDÓU.[6]
PEDRO CHOUTEAU.

Supervision:
DE LASSUS

I, Don Eugenio Alvarez, storekeeper of the town of San Luis de Ilinois, attest that the present relation is a copy faithfully and legally made from the original which is in my possession. In order that it may so appear for the purposes which may be convenient, I give the present so that it may be sent to the subdelegation in San Luis de Ylinois; September twenty-seven, one thousand eight hundred.

EUGENIO ALVAREZ.

They are copies of their originals. Nueva Orleans, given *ut supra*.

Royal Clerk's extract, and approbation:]

Nueva Orleans, July 13, 1801.

Number 57.

The Intendant Lopez Angulo.

The Military Governor *ad interim* sent document number 2 which contains the lists of the presents made by the storekeeper of Ylinois by order of the Lieutenant-Governor of those settlements, as a result of the great council which the latter celebrated in the preceding month with the principal chief of the tribe of the Big Osages, Cheveux Blancs, and his band of about 200 men, who brought in one of the individuals who had murdered one of those habitants and his son, in order to reunite to the tribe the band of the Chener, which had broken with them and was committing continual thefts and atrocities, and in order to keep them ready at hand for the defense of the said settlements which were threatened by the English. Having ordered him to admit this expense as an entry in the accounts of the above-mentioned storekeeper, he petitions the royal approbation.

---

[4] Should be St. Vrain, a brother of Don Carlos de Lassus.

[5] Pascal Cerre.

[6] Joseph Roubidoux.

Marginal note: "April 8, 1802."]

Endorsed: "April 21, 1802. Approved. Given on the said 23d."

CXIII

BOUNDARY BETWEEN THE NEW MADRID AND CAPE GIRARDEAU DISTRICTS

General Archives of the Indies, Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

Letter to de Hault de Lassus:]

The order of Baron de Carondelet, in his official communication of October 12, 1796, in regard to the boundaries between Cabo Girardeau and Nuevo Madrid, must remain without the slightest alteration. Consequently, the concessions to the German families remain in force and vigor.

Your Grace shall advise Don Enrique Peyroux that the boundaries of his subdelegation cannot be extended farther than the boundaries of his jurisdiction. Consequently, the most ancient [settlers?] as Your Grace thinks, must remain in the enjoyment of the possession of their lands, and under the administration of the justice of the post in which they are situated. Finally, the provisional line which was ordered drawn by Lieutenant-Colonel, Don Zenon Trudeau, shall be located.

This is a reply to Your Grace's official communication, No. 35.

May God preserve Your Grace many years. Nueva Orleans, June 27, 1800. THE MARQUIS DE CASA-CALVO.

Addressed: "Don Carlos de Hault de Lassus."

Letter to Carlos de Hault de Lassus:]

I have informed myself carefully of what Your Grace explains to me in your official letter No. 126, in regard to the conduct of the Commandant of Nuevo Madrid, Don Enrique Peyroux and of the memorial of Don Luis Lorimier, Commandant of Cabo Girardeau. By the enclosed open [*abertorio*] official letter to Peyroux, Your Grace will understand the measures which I have deemed it advisable to take in order to restrain him in his license in regard to his surveys and the admission of habitants, which, perhaps, he has allowed through his excess of zeal in advancing his settlement. In fact, it is advisable to reenforce that settlement, for it may be very useful and advantageous.

Your Grace shall send him the open official letter witn my order, and Your Grace shall endeavor, with your genialty mildness, and moderation, to reduce him to subordination and good accord. For unless it is corrected, we shall take the measure of relieving him of his command.

May God, etc. Nueva Orleans, January 30, 1802.

Addressed: "Don Carlos de Lassus."

THE MARQUIS DE CASA-CALVO.

Official approbation:]

I approve the transaction of the land surveyor Don Antonio Sonalro [Soulard?] by order of Your Grace in order to fix the limit for Nuevo Madrid and Cabo Girardeau; and having taken note of what Your Grace explains to me in this official letter No. 120 and in No. 126, I have taken the measures enclosed in my reply to the last letter. By such measures, I am convinced that he will restrain himself, and that the subordination and harmony so necessary for the good of the service will be restored.

May God, etc. Nueva Orleans, January 30, 1802.

Addressed: "Don Carlos de Lassus."

THE MARQUIS DE CASA-CALVO.

Letter from De Lassus:]

Under present covers I am returning Your Lordship the official communication of Don Enrique Peyroux in regard to the boundaries of Cabo Girardeau (after having made the investigations according to your orders), and the other original documents.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years, San Luis de Ylinois, May 20, 1803.

CARLOS DE HAULT DE LASSUS (rubric).

Addressed: "Don J. Manuel de Salcedo."

Letter from Peyroux:]

Enclosed is a letter from Monsieur Soulard, a planter of Upper Luissianne, by which it seems that he is trying to elude the orders of the Government which has fixed the boundaries of this district on the north side at a distance of five leagues from Cap a Girardeau. I enclose here my answer, by which Your Lordship will see that I do not at all wish to approve such an action, which seems to be proposed only to enlarge the district of Cap a Girardeau commanded by Monsieur Lorimier. May God have Your Lordship in His holy keeping. Nouvelle Madrid, January 12, 1803.

HENRI PEYROUX (rubric).

Addressed: "Don Manuel de Salcedo."

Letter from Soulard:]

Enclosed is a copy of the official communication handed to me by Monsieur the Lieutenant-Governor, Don Carlos de Hault de Lassus, the execution of which it has been impossible to carry out in entirety, for the reason that shortly after having commenced my operations, Monsieur the Lieutenant-Governor who was then at Cap Girardeau ordered me to return to him. When he departed, ill health not permitting me to follow him, he permitted me to return to St. Louis until I received a new order. As the execution of the said orders was signified to me after my return from Nouvelle Orleans, and that Monsieur the Lieutenant-Governor desires that the boundary line between this post of Nouvelle Madrid and that of Cap Girardeau be fixed during the course of this winter, in accordance with the directions in the said official communication, I believe that it is my duty to inform you of everything relative to this operation.

"By virtue of the orders of the Government you shall go immediately to Cap Girardeau, in order to proceed to fix the line of demarcation which is to separate the said post from the post of Nouvelle Madrid. That line must be drawn five leagues below Cap Girardeau, in consequence and in consideration of the agreement of the Commandant of the said post and the other Commandant of Girardeau. You shall take your point of departure from which to fix the said distance of five leagues starting from any point whatever from the most southern line of the land of the said Commandant [of Girardeau]. And when by the methods of procedure which appears most advisable to you, you shall have fixed at the shore of the river a point of departure at a distance from the said prescribed line [*i. e.*, the most southern point of Cap Girardeau] of five leagues in the direction of the true south which is that in general which follows the course of the river, Monsieur Louis Lorimier shall advise Monsieur the Commandant of Nouvelle Madrid that the said point has been fixed, so that he may come to take cognizance thereof, and be present at the drawing of the line (which must be drawn east and west as the direction most perpendicular to the general course of the river). At his arrival you shall give him information of the orders that I have given you and of the methods which you have employed in determining the fixed distance of five leagues. And if he do not go there in person, after his response, you shall continue your operation, which is not to be postponed.

"The point of departure of the line shall be fixed beyond danger from the caves-in of the river, and bounded in the way which you believe most advisable. The line shall be continued from the river to the stream, namely the Saint François River, in view of the fact that there are habitants at the shore of the said river, who are only awaiting the settlement of the line in order to ascertain to what post they belong. The said line shall be marked from league to league throughout its course as you shall consider most advisable. You shall mention and give exact details of it in the verbal process which you shall give of your operations. I shall give you free from the King's store the things necessary for your work, and you shall be reëmbursed for the expenses which you shall incur and your provisions.

"After [shall be sent] the exact report which you shall give on your return from your operation by which we shall be advised according to the orders of the Governor. May God have you in His holy keeping. Sant Louis des Yllinois, November 25, 1801."

"CARLOS DE HAULT DE LASSUS."

Addressed: "Monsieur Antoine Soulard.'

I also gave a copy of the said official communication to the Commandant of Cap Girardeau, Monsieur Louis Lorimier, as well as to the Subdelegate, a planter, of the posts of Nouvelle Madrid and Cap Girardeau, Don Bartèlemi Cousin, so that he might learn your orders in this regard, as well as demand on your authority and that of Monsieur Don Louis Lorimier the things that are absolutely necessary for the completion of what I ordered him by my official letter of the same date. May God have Your Lordship in His holy keeping. San Luis des Yllinois, December first, 1802.

ANTONIO SOULARD (rubric).

Addressed: "Don Enrique Peyroux."

Letter from Peyroux:]

Copy of the answer to Monsieur Soulard.

Some days ago I received your official letter of December first, 1802, by which you instructed me that Monsieur the Lieutenant-Governor orders that the east and west line which is to separate the district of Nouvelle Madrid from that of Cap Girardeau be laid down five leagues from the southern point of the habitation of Monsieur Lorimier which is more than one hundred arpents above Cap Girardeau. I do not pretend to oppose the orders of Monsieur the Lieutenant-Governor, but I cannot give my approval to it; for in the official communication of Monsieur the Marquis de Casa Calvo, it is expressly ordered to draw this line five leagues from Cap Girardeau. I would be sorry to have His Lordship, Monsieur the Governor, only to be able to suspect that I was trying to elude his orders. May God have you in His holy keeping. Nouvelle Madrid, January 11, 1803.

HENRI PEYROUX (rubric).

Addressed: "Monsieur Soulard."

CXIV

EXPEDITION TO NEW MADRID TO PUNISH MASKOUS — 1803

General Archives of the Indies, Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

Letter from De Lassus:]
Copy No. 171.

As I informed Your Lordship by my letter No. 168 from San Luis, I took passage in the galliot "La Flecha" [*i. e.*, "The Arrow" and arrived at the post of Santa Genoveva on the fifth of the past month, where I found in part all the militia summoned by said official communication, assembled and ready to march in spite of the bad weather. The weather obliged the Commandant of the galliot to lie by and camp ten leagues from Post Santa Genoveva because of the ice which came down and surprised all navigators on the Misisipi. This occurrence obliged me to remain at Santa Genoveva until the thirteenth day [of the month], because of the snow which was falling every day and the extreme cold; and to wait for the arrival of my papers and the despatches which were in the galliot for the Commandants of Cabo Girardeau and Nuevo Madrid, in order to advise them of our arrival. I despatched them by messenger on the tenth, advising them that the council would not be held on the fifteenth, because of this bad weather which had detained us.

Because of the zeal of these habitants and the extraordinary cold I have ordered three rations per day to be given to each militiaman, and I have left orders to the Captain commanding the galliot to do the same with the soldiers in camp, and that if the river permits it before the twentieth to immediately follow to Nueva Madrid, and after the twentieth to go back to the post of San Luis. Having marched on the thirteenth in company with the militia, summoned under the orders which I gave and ordered to be observed on the way for the conservation of all those habitants, who are zealous for the service, and having taught them to draw up in order in the places where we stopped, we arrived on the fifteenth in the neighborhood of Cabo Girardeau, where we met Don Luis Lorimier, Commandant of the said post, who advised me that he had detained the official with the guard a league away in order to distribute them from there in their lodgings, because the dwelling houses were scattered. We followed and met the vanguard. Their Commandant advised me that he had been a drummer and fifer and recognized that it was the company of Cabo Girardeau. It arrived a minute later and Don Luis Lorimier informed me that it was the company which he had enlisted in accordance with my orders. I went to receive them; ordered them to halt in their tracks; and thence they took those who came with me to their houses. I must remark that this company is composed of the best young fellows that one can see. They are well mounted and armed, and Lorimier took the precaution to make them a standard bearing the arms of the King. I, the Commandant of Santa Genoveva, Don Francisco Vallé and a guard with the standard went to the habitation of Lorimier who gave us all that was necessary with the greatest generosity, beside the definite measures which he took so that all the militia might receive what they needed. On the sixteenth I gave orders to continue the march. Together with this militia, we marched on the seventeenth until half-past twelve, under the orders which I thought necessary for a march and as corresponds to the decorum of the royal arms, and under the precautions necessary so that no accident might happen to any of the habitants who were so desirous of being useful to their country. In view of the bad weather and the continual snow in the land, I taught them how to form their ranks properly, to deploy, etc., so that we arrived at the post of Nuevo Madrid in column form on the twentieth, as I informed Your Lordship by my No. 170 of December twenty last, in the midst of a heavy shower and cold. Thus it continued for three days, in which I allowed these militia to rest, and gave my orders for the service demanded by the circumstances, together with those of this post.

The continuous bad weather was the cause that no more than a small band of Indians of the Massiku tribe had yet arrived. From the tribe of our prisoners, I was advised that this band was evilly inclined and was making threats. I immediately sent for Don Luis Lorimier, and he told me that he had really been very poorly received, but that it meant nothing for them to talk in this manner for they saw that no tribe was present, and perhaps they imagined that it was because it was not pleasing to them [*i. e.*, the other tribes] to perceive [*apercutieran*] those who were going to punish them [*que iban a castigarlos*].

The following day, namely the twenty-third, I told Lorimier to find a method of bringing the captain of the Mashkua to my lodgings. He accomplished that, and I talked with him mildly. He became quiet, and when he left, Lorimier advised me that everything would be all right, but that this old man seemed to him to be a talker.

On the twenty-fourth, I was arranging to free the four Mashkuas who were imprisoned with Terravayé[1] the criminal. Lorimier went back to talk with the said chief and informed me that everything of the evening before was gone to the winds, and that they were again continuing their threats. Therefore I postponed freeing the aforesaid four prisoners, judging that would be giving them sure proof that we feared them, and would have without doubt have opposed the sentence of Terravayé. Before deciding on a violent extreme, I consulted Lorimier. He told me that if none of the nations was present, it was either a proof that they feared the Mashkuas because they were in great number, or that they did not regard this punishment, which I was preparing, with pleasure. Nevertheless, he could not presume that of the Chaoauones and the Delawares, whom he believed had not yet arrived because of the bad weather, because it was cool, and that he would go to look for them in the vicinity of Cabo Girardeau. I accepted the proposition instantly, and he set out. The Delaware and Chaoauones arrived with a band of warriors of each nation, notwithstanding the rain and snow that was falling heavily. I beheld their arrival with great pleasure. That instant I commissioned Lorimier to talk to them strongly and to endeavor by all means to get them on our side and to come to an agreement with the Mashkuas. Lorimier did that with the greatest of success, by means of his experience in dealing with the tribes, and the confidence which the Chaoauones and Delawares have in what he told them. The twenty-fifth, twenty-sixth, and twenty-seventh days it continued to rain heavily, but more chiefs and highly-regarded Chaoauones, Mashkuas, Piantichati[2] arrived and in sufficient number to carry out what had been ordered for the council. On the twenty-eighth, when I was informed that the Mashkuas chief with his warriors had gone from the other side, I immediately commissioned Don Luis Lorimier to go to find the chief of the Delawares in order to obstruct his way and to go in search of him, informing him that he would interest him self for them and beg favor for the least guilty. The Delaware chief,

---

[1] Tewanaye.

[2] Piankishaws.

Tachinouza,[3] did that with the best of zeal. This is the same chief who last year surrendered the Indian of his tribe who had killed an American from the American Government. Tachinouza came back on the twenty-ninth, and told me that after considerable trouble, he determined to come, since Monsieur Peyroux had told them or promised them that all should have their freedom. The Mashkuas chief Aypusitiky[4] and the chief Kaskaku[5] and their warriors really came back on the thirtieth. I arranged everything for the council on the thirty-first. Enclosed I am sending the process by which can be seen the two councils and the sentence that was executed on Terravayé which was effected by the arms in the presence of the members of his tribe who were satisfied. All that was done I send to Your Lordship by messenger so that Your Lordship may inform the principal chiefs of the truth of the tribe of Masku Talapuche, if you consider it advisable, in order to avoid having the four prisoners when set at liberty, from going down perhaps to recount the matter in any other way than just as it occurred.

These and the chief Aypusetchy and the highly-regarded Kaskaloa have today crossed to the other side after reiterating that they will be satisfied.

I hope that I have done the best thing and that this example will serve as an assurance for the tranquillity of these habitants and merit the approval of Your Lordship. Nothing more is left for me than to express to Your Lordship the zeal generally of all these habitants who have abandoned their families since the first of last month because of a very bad storm; and especially of Don Luis Lorimier, both on account of his zeal and for his success in dealing with the tribes who surround us, and who has been of great use to me in this delicate matter.

Tomorrow I shall set out with the militia who have come with me, in order that we may return to our respective posts. I leave with this Commandant there the orders necessary for his defense, in case anything new happens, which I do not expect.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years. Nuevo Madrid, January sixth, one thousand eight hundred and three.

Carlos de Hault de Lassus.

---

[3] Takinantha also known as Captain Allen.

[4] Agyponsetchy.

[5] KasKaloua.

CXV

THE SERVICES AND MERITS OF DON LOUIS LORIMIER — 1803

General Archives of the Indies, Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

Letter from De Lassus:]

Notwithstanding that I am informing Your Lordship of the merit of Don Luis Lorimier, Commandant of Cabo Girardeau, I must further recommend him particularly as a man of the highest utility for any military service, especially in what concerns the Indians. It seems to me that if Your Lordship finds it convenient, it would be very proper to propose him to His Majesty for some military post with pay. Until such royal determination, I believe it very advisable for Your Lordship to send him as soon as possible a despatch as Militia Captain, since he is Commandant of his post without any rank which will cause him to be respected. I can assure Your Lordship that I have experienced on various occasions that he is worthy the concessions that I ask for him, and especially on this last occasion. He has asked me for a tent and two swivel-guns, and I have promised to send the latter to him at the first opportunity, and if Your Lordship finds it convenient, to order that the tent be sent him. It appears to me that these supplies are very necessary to him in order that he may summon his habitants when necessity requires.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years. Santa Genoveva de Yllinois, January 13, 1803.

Carlos de Hault de Lassus.

Addressed: "Don J. Manuel Salcedo."[1]

---

[1] Juan Manuel de Salcedo was a son of Nemesio de Salcedo y Salcedo, a brigadier-general in the Spanish royal army. He was in service in Mexico commanding the United Internal Provinces, and when the revolution of Hidalgo broke out he exerted himself strenuously to suppress it. Upon Hidalgo being captured he superintended his trial and execution and that of his chief officers. When Pike was arrested on his expedition in New Mexico in 1807 he was taken to Chihuahua and examined by him. While in office he accumulated a large fortune and in 1814 returned to Spain. Before his son Don Manuel, who also attained the rank of a brigadier, came to Louisiana, he was King's lieutenant on the Island of Teneriffe, and after the cession of Louisiana, was appointed Governor of Texas. In 1810 and afterwards he had a number of conflicts with the revolutionists and their American allies, who had flocked in to Texas to aid them. In 1813 he and his staff and Gen. Herrera were

captured by Gutierrez, who was in command of the allied Mexicans and Americans. A court martial was organized by the Mexicans to try these prisoners of war on account of outrages against the revolutionists, and they were, of course, condemned to death, but the horror which this attempt thus to kill prisoners of war inspired among the Americans caused Gutierrez to apparently abandon his purpose, and ostensibly the prisoners were sent to Matagorda; but on the way they were tied by the Mexican escort of 60 men in the bed of the river, and after being stripped of their clothing, their throats cut. Thus Manuel de Salcedo found his death.

CXVI

THE SERVICES OF DON PEDRO ROUSSEAU, COMMANDANT OF GALLEYS ON THE MISSISSIPPI

General Archives of the Indies, Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

Sire:

The Lieutenant-Colonel, by brevet, Don Pedro Rousseau, Commandant of your galleys of the Misisipi, declares before the royal feet of Your Majesty: that, seeing with the greatest grief the sad moment for the surrender of this province to the Commissary of the French Republic, draw nigh, and after that to that of the United States of the North, in the critical condition of being in his advanced age surrounded by ten children who are just so many other obstacles to his ardent desire of consecrating his last days to Your Royal service, he finds no other refuge in his deplorable situation than that of applying to your sovereign kindness, always inexhaustible, towards the vassals who have enlisted under your royal banners, encouraged by the unequivocal proofs which he has given of his loyalty, zeal, and love for your august person, during the space of twenty-four years.

The accompanying certified copy, under No. 1, is an authentic testimony that in the past year of eighty-one, the zeal, great bravery, and distinguished conduct which he has proven in your Royal service since the time that General Don Bernardo de Galvez appointed him to the command of the brigantine named "Galveztown" at the beginning of the war declared against Great Britain, had already been brought to the supreme comprehension of Your Majesty. As the result of that, Your Majesty has had the goodness to advise Your Secretary of State, Don Josef de Galvez, to give him thanks in your Royal name.

Not less glorious for the declarant is the capture which he made in Lake Ponchatrain of the English sloop named "West Florida," on boarding which he received two serious wounds, and the satisfaction of having had a part in the conquest of Movila, as Commander of the above-mentioned "Galveztown." By that he forced the Port of Panzacola, at the orders of said General, who was on his vessel. He successively performed several commissions for that leader, all of interest to your Royal service, and contributed, by his valor, zeal, and prudence, to the successful result of his expeditions, as will be seen in documents Numbers 2, 3, and 4.

By the above-mentioned documents, and numbers 5 and 6, Your Majesty will see that after he had served for two years in the post of Natchitochez to the satisfaction of your Governor, Don Esteban Miró, he succeeded in establishing himself with Colonel Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos in the important post of Las Barrancas de Margot. Having put to flight the difficulties opposed by the Chichachas Indians, whose principal chief he induced to yield that territory to Your Majesty, as that chief really did do, after signing the suitable document of cession. One can also see from the certified copy, number 7, that after having coöperated in the arrest of the adventurer, Guillermo Bowles, who has caused so much harm to your vassals of Luisiana he took him to Havana to put him at the disposition of that Captain-General, by order of your Governor Baron de Carondelet. The latter, informed of all the deeds above set forth, had continually employed the supplicant from January ninety-two until June, ninety-six, in delicate and important commissions for your Royal service, under the character of Commandant of the squadron of galleys: now in order to conduct artillery to the post of Nueva Madrid, which was threatened by an expedition of French and Americans; now to defend the posts of Placaminas and La Balisa, in the invasion attempted by the first; and now for other matters which, as may be seen by said document, he has performed to the satisfaction of the Military Commandant of Luisiana.

Of not less consideration are the services which he has performed for your Royal Crown, during the military Government of the Marquis de Casa Calvo, and during the present Government of Brigadier Don Manuel Salcedo without the natural heaviness and weakness which an advanced age generally occasions serving to lessen his valor. Having been included in the expedition which was made by order of the first named in the year ninety-nine, in order to attack the fort of San Marcos de Apalache, which was conquered by the Indians, he set out for that place in order to take command of your galleys, and with those galleys he cruised about those coasts for the space of four months. In the same manner, in the year eighteen hundred, while Commandant of the schooner "Leal," he obtained the satisfaction of capturing with two chaloupes one of your ships, which had been captured by the English, and of making prisoners a marine guard and six men. This happy result, giving an impulse to his valor, contributed not a little to the fact that in July of the same year, he captured the English schooner "Walther," armed with eight four-pounders which it was carrying as a reënforcement, to the adventurer Bowles. In the year eight hundred and one, he also captured through his well-given orders, at the Islands of San Jorge [*i. e*, St. George] and Perro [*i. e.*, Dog Island] the schooner named "Fabarita" with ten cannons of the same calibre, which was carrying artillery and ammunition of war for the attack of the above-said fort to that bandit [*i. e.*, Bowles]. A short time afterward, he recaptures the schooner "Betecy" [*i. e.*, Betsy], owned by Don José Vidal, which had been captured by one of the pirate boats of the above-mentioned Bowles, while sailing to the port of Havana, laden with nine hundred and more barrels of flour. After those events he had the great honor to capture a hostile batteau laden with salt, and to burn a schooner belonging to the same Bowles. He also burned two large storehouses and a watch-tower in the Island of Cedro [*i. e.*, Cedar Island]. Lastly, after having performed various commissions, for the said two chiefs, of value to your royal service, he took command, by order of the second chief, of two galleys and one bombardier [*bombardera*], in order to relieve the above-mentioned fort of Apalache, which was threatened by the above-mentioned Bowles and the Indians of his party.

If these services, Sire, have little influence in inclining your Royal protection in favor of a faithful vassal, who has exposed his life so often to the greatest dangers in obedience to his natural King; if the present which he makes to your royal person of his eldest son, Don Pedro Andres Rousseau, cadet of the regular Regiment of Luisiana, who follows your Royal banners: will Your Majesty permit him to present to your supreme consideration the weight of his many years, the large size of his family, his natural love to his fatherland, his difficulty in maintaining his obligations outside of this province, and, finally, the unfortunate obstacle of continuing in your Royal service because of the cession of this colony.

Your inexhaustible kindness is well known throughout the world, especially in Luisiana, so that the declarant does not doubt but that he will obtain the grace to which he aspires. And in this firm hope:

He humbly entreats Your Majesty to deign to grant him his retirement in this city [*i. e.*, Nueva Orleans], with the pay which may be your Royal pleasure, a grace which he hopes to receive from the sovereign charity of Your Majesty. May Heaven prosper your precious life for many long years, for the happiness of the monarchy. Nueva Orleans, November 15, 1803. Sire, at the Royal feet of Your Majesty, PEDRO ROUSSEAU (rubric).

CXVII

THE SERVICES OF DON ANTONIO SOULARD

General Archives of the Indies, Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

Petition:]

YOUR EXCELLENCY:

Don Antonio Soulard, assistant to the Lieutenant-Governor of the settlements of Yllnoa, has served in this post for eight years and six months, with the approval of the Captain-General, Don Luis de las Casas, and at the proposal of the Mariscal de Campo [*i. e.*, Major-General] Baron de Carondelet. If the royal attestation has not relapsed, it seems to me that it would be fitting to His Majesty's kindness, to recompense him with the pay of twenty-five pesos per month, from the day on which he took possession of the above-mentioned post until the cession of those posts to the French Republic as a remuneration for his merit and the advantage derived from his services. I petition Your Excellency to inform His Majesty of this. May God, etc., April 30, 1804. CARLOS DE HAULT DE LASSUS. Addressed: "Don Pedro Cevallos."

Soulard's petiton:]

Sire:

Don Antonio Soulard, Captain of Militia, Adjutant *ad interim* of the Lieutenant-Governor of the settlements of Ylinoa, special land surveyor of Upper Luisiana, settled with his wife and three children in the capital city of those settlements, which are under the advocacy of Saint Louis, with the most profound respect, lays before the Royal feet of Your Majesty that, on account of the death of the Gentleman of San Luis, the army Captain, Don Pedro Wolsey,[1] he has been exercising the said post of Adjutant, to which he was appointed by the Governor of these provinces, Baron de Carondelet, for eight years and two months, with the approval of the Captain-General of these provinces, Lieutenant-General, Don Luis de las Casas, as is proven by Copy No. 1. He has not yet obtained the royal confirmation, doubtless because of the accidents of the war.

[1] Don Pedro de Volsay.

Nevertheless, during the last war with France, he was employed to observe the conduct and manner of action of those of that country, who with the citizens of the American states of the West on the Ohio were on the point of invading these provinces. In the year 1797, because of the scarcity of veteran officers, he was employed at the order of the above-mentioned Baron de Carondelet in performing service alternately with the active officers, while the expedition, which the above-mentioned Baron entrusted, in order to repel the attack premeditated by the English of Upper Canada, to the zeal and skill of the Lieutenant-Colonel of the regiment of Luisiana, Don Carlos Howard, remained in those districts, without ceasing to fulfil the duties of Adjutant and attend to the other duties of the fortification which he was constructing, as appears from Document No. 2. By an official order of March 22, 1800, the Commissary *ad interim* of these provinces, Marquis de Casa Calvo, concurring with the Intendant, Don Ramon de Lopez y Angulo, he was commissioned to make a report of the expenses that had to be incurred by the repairs on the fortifications at San Luis. He did that with the zeal which is clear to his chiefs in the space of two months, without having asked the least pay, either for himself or for those who aided in his operations. He set forth their services to Your Majesty under date of May 22, of last year, 1802, petitioning employment as Adjutant, with the rank of infantry Captain and pay as Lieutenant and seniority since the time in which he began to serve. From that time, and until the present, not having received any result, he believes that Your Majesty has not considered it fitting to apoint him to said post because of the cession of this province of Luisiana to the French Republic, which frustrates the hope of this supplicant in this consideration. He humbly petitions Your Majesty to deign to grant him the half pay of his rank from the day when he began to serve until the delivery of the province is effected, or, at least, for an equivalent gratification, which will remunerate him for his zeal and constant services — a grace which he hopes from the paternal kindness of Your Majesty.

San Luis de Yllinois, December 31, 1803. Sire, at the Royal feet of Your Majesty. ANTONIO SOULARD (rubric).

Endorsement by De Lassus:]

Don Carlos de Hault de Lassus, Colonel of the Royal army, with the brevet rank in the regular infantry regiment of Luisiana, Lieutenant of the Governor and Subdelegate of the Royal Treasury of Upper Luisiana.

No. 1. I certify that in the military archives of this Government in my charge, there exists, among other documents, an official letter of Baron de Carondelet, ex-Commandant General of these provinces, directed to Lieutenant Colonel Don Zenon Trudeau. It is dated February 8, 1796, when he was Lieutenant-Governor of the western settlements of Ylinois. Its exact tenor is as follows:

"I have proposed to the King, Don Antonio Soulard, for the post of Adjutant of the Lieutenant-Governor of Ylinoa which has become vacant because of the death of Don Pedro Wolsey, [i. e., Volsay], who obtained this post in accordance with the advice of Your Majesty in official letter, No. 237.

"San Luis de Yllinois, December 31, one thousand eight hundred and three.

Carlos de Hault de Lassus (rubric).

Endorsement by Howard:]

Don Carlos Howard, Lieutenant-Colonel of the regiment of Luisiana, and by the special permission of Mariscal-de-Campo Baron de Carondelet, military Commandant of Upper Luisiana. No. 2. I certify that the Captain of Militia, Don Antonio Soulard, land-surveyor, appointed by the general Government of the abovesaid Upper Luisiana and by me, Adjutant-in-chief *ad interim* of this post of San Luis de Ylinneses, as also by said Baron to exercise the duties of engineer, under the direction of the volunteer of the same class, Don Luis Vanden Benden in the works of fortification which have been made here at my direction; Soulard, also, executing the plans of the same.

He also offered himself as alternate in the daily service of the fort and I admitted his offer because of the great scarcity of veteran officers. He continued to serve in the abovesaid posts with so great zeal and activity that, notwithstanding that his health had visibly declined, he insisted on continuing them, although I had urged that he rest and take a change of air. It is to be noted that he performed the abovesaid services without any pay, or even having asked for any. Consequently, I have already recommended his merit to the abovementioned Baron, adding that his talent, excellent breeding, and cultivation made him worthy the consideration of the superior Government which should confer on him the army rank and employment of Adjutant of the abovesaid post. There was especial need there of such post in order that its incumbent might act as substitute for the Commandant and Lieutenant-Governor on the latter's absence and sickness, and especially in case of death; for in time of peace and even today when I am retiring from here, my successor, Captain Don Zenon Trudeau, with the brevet rank of Lieutenant Colonel has no subaltern. In order that it may be apparent, I give the present, at the request of the interested party, in this fort of San Luis de los Ylinneses, August first, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven.

Carlos Howard.

Endorsement by De Lassus:]

Don Carlos de Hault de Lassus, Colonel of the Royal army, assigned to the regular infantry regiment of Luisiana, and Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Luisiana.

I certify that the copy of the preceding attestation conforms to and is uniform with that which was originally presented to me by the Captain of Militia and the Adjutant *ad interim* of this fort, Don Antonio Soulard, to which I refer. In order that it may be apparent for the ends that are advisable, I give the present in the city of San Luis de Yllinois, December thirty-one, one thousand eight hundred and three.

Carlos de Hault de Lassus (rubric).

CXVIII

TRANSFER OF NEW MADRID — 1804

General Archives of the Indies, Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

Letter from Lavallée:]

In observance of the orders of Your Lordships of December 31, of last year, I surrendered the post in my command on the 18th of the current month to the Infantry Captain of the United States of America, Daniel Bissell, who was commissioned to receive it by the Artillery Captain of the above-mentioned States, Amos Stoddard, agent of the French Republic. In those negotiations, forty-five libras of powder have been used both in salutes and by the guards. That same day, I made, by means of experts, the valuation of the King's buildings, in the presence of witnesses, and in company with Don Riche Dupin who was commissioned by Don Pedro Choteau commissioned therefor by the colonial prefect, Pedro Clemente Laussat.

I also surrendered the public archives with all the documents, and papers that concern the habitants and their property by means of the fitting inventories. Of all the above, I send Your Lordships the justificative documents.

I believe that I ought to inform Your Lordships that this change has caused the greatest anger among these habitants who live here, and especially the day of the surrender, during the ceremonies of which they have expressed the greatest grief.

This is all I believe it my duty to communicate to Your Lordships at present, and I await your superior orders.

May God preserve Your Lordships many years. Nuevo Madrid, March 29, 1804. JUAN LAVALLÉE (rubric).

Addressed: "Marquis de Casa Calvo, and Don Juan Manuel de Salcedo, Commissaries for His Catholic Majesty."

Certification of transfer:]

In consequence of the letter despatched in Nueva Orleans, December thirty-one, of last year, 1803, by the Marquis of Casa Calvo and Don Juan Manuel de Salcedo, Brigadiers of the Royal armies commissioned by His Catholic Majesty, for the delivery of the colony and province of Luisiana to the French Republic, directed to Don Juan Lavallée, civil and military Commandant of the Post of Nuevo Madrid and commissioned by the said gentlemen for the delivery of said post to the prefect, Pedro Clemente Laussat, commissioned by the above-named French Republic to take possession of the above-mentioned post or any other person who is appointed and named for that purpose, in accordance with the last treaty of retrocession;

And inasmuch as by the letter despatched in the said Nueva Orleans, January twelve, of this year, the above-mentioned Commissary of the French Republic establishes, constitutes, and appoints Amos Stoddard, Artillery Captain of the United States of America, as the only Agent and Commissary in behalf of his nation, in order that he may ask and receive the above-mentioned Post of Nuevo Madrid, or do so through any other person commissioned by him for this purpose;

And inasmuch as by another letter despatched on the sixth of the current month, the 28th year of the Independence of the United States of America, the abovesaid Amos Stoddard names and appoints Captain Daniel Bissell for the purpose of receiving the said Post of Nuevo Madrid:

In virtue of the respective powers that have been exhibited, let it be seen by these presents, that I, the abovesaid Don Juan Lavallée, in the quality of Commandant of the post, in answer to the summons that were duly made me by the above-mentioned Daniel Bissell, Agent and Commissioner of the French Republic, gave him complete possession of the above-mentioned post with all the edifices and fortifications belonging to it.

And I, the above-mentioned Daniel Bissell, as such Commissary, acknowledge that I have received the said posession in the same term abovesaid, and I am satisfied and have received them on this day; in testimony whereof, the abovesaid Commandant and I have each signed these presents, sealed with the seal of our arms, in the presence of the undersigned witnesses of which six copies were drawn up, three in the Spanish language and the other three in English.

Given in Nuevo Madrid, March eighteen, one thousand eight hundred and four.

DANIEL BISSELL (rubric).	JOSEPH CHARPANTIER (rubric).
JUAN LAVALLÉE (rubric).	PIERRE ANTONIO LAFORGE (rubric).
MADAME SUSAN (rubric).	B. OLIVES (rubric).
ANDRES MOVAS (rubric).	

Inventory of Documents:]

General inventory of the documents and other papers of the archives of the Post of Nuevo Madrid, in regard to the habitants and their possessions; which I, Don Juan Lavallée, Militia Lieutenant made and delivered to Don Pedro Antonio Laforge, agent for Amos Stoddard, Artillery Captain of the United States of America, Commissioner of the French Republic to take possession, in the name of the latter of the above-mentioned post; of which delivery I was entrusted by the superior order of the Marquis of Casa Calvo and Don Juan Manuel de Salcedo, Brigadiers of the said Royal armies and Commissioners of His Majesty for the delivery of this colony to the above-mentioned French Republic, as appears by the order which they gave me for that purpose, which was despatched in Nueva Orleans, December thirty-one of last year, 1803. In fulfilment of that order I have had the delivery of the said documents and papers made to the above-mentioned Agent, having previously appointed as witnesses, Don Josef Charpentier and Don Juan Baptista Olive, notable habitants and citizens of this place, who promised under the due oath, to assist, be present at, and give faithful testimony of whatever was done and what we have begun to do in the following manner.

Firstly: One package, No. A, containing two hundred and twenty-seven concessions for lands in the village, and one hundred and four concessions for dwelling-houses, conceded between the years one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one and one thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven, inclusive.

Secondly: Another package, No. B, containing two hundred and eleven rents of properties, between the years one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one and one thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine, inclusive.

Thirdly: Another package, No. C, containing seventy-four notes between the years 1791–1799.

Twenty-five mortgages, between the years 1791–1799.

Forty-eight powers of attorney, between the years 1791–1798.

Seven transfers of land, between the years 1795–1799.

Four records of deposit, between the years of 1795–1799.

Two records of freedom [to slaves], in 1792 and 1793.

Thirty contracts of marriage, between the years 1791–1799.

Seventeen wills and bequests, between the years 1791–1799.

Fourthly: Other packages, Nos. D and E, containing thirty processes and investigations, between the years 1792–1798.

Fifthly: Another package, No. F, containing sixteen declarations, between the years 1791–1798.

Three transactions and judgments in 1798.

Seventeen instances, between the years 1797–1799.

Forty-one receipts, notes, and registered accounts of various persons, between the years 1791–1799.

Sixthly: Other packages, Nos. G and H, containing fifty-six inventories, public rents, estimations, and liquidations, between the years 1791–1799.

Seventhly: Other packages, Nos. J, K, L, M, N, and O, containing four hundred and fifty-four records between the years 1799-1804 (March twelve).

Eighthly: Another package, No. P, containing fifty-eight official communications of Governors Estevan Miro, Baron de Carondelet, Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, Marquis de Casa Calvo, and Don Juan Manuel de Salcedo, to the Commandants Don Pedro Foucher, Don Thomá Portell, Don Carlos de Hault de Lassus, and Don Henrique Peyroux, between the years 1789–1803.

Instructions of the Governor, Estevan Miro to Don Pedro Foucher, for the command of the Post of Nuevo Madrid in three parts.

Instructions and powers given by Governor Estevan Miro to Don Jorge Morgan, in two parts.

Printed instructions in regard to civil and criminal processes.

A copy of a letter from the associates of Don Jorge Morgan, attested by Governor Miro.

A copy of an official communication from Don Pedro Foucher to Governor Estevan Miro, dated June 14, 1791.

An official communication of the surveyor, Don Antonio Soulard, in the year 1798.

Rules and regulations given by Governor Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, for the distribution of lands.

A tariff for the expenses of justice by Commandant Don Enrique Peyroux.

Ninthly: Another package, No. Q, containing thirteen official communications from the Intendants to the Commandants of the Post of Nuevo Madrid, between the years 1795–1799.

Twenty-nine official communications from the Lieutenant-Governor Don Carlos de Hault de Lassus to the Commandants Don Henrique Peyroux and Don Juan Lavallée, between the years 1799–1804.

Two official communications from the Commandant of Cabo Girardeau, Don Luis Lorimier, in 1803 and 1804.

I, the above-mentioned Don Pedro Antonio Laforge, commissioned by the abovesaid agent, Amos Stoddard in behalf of the French Republic, and in view of being duly authorized with the suitable powers, declare by these presents that I have received from Don Juan Lavallée, Militia Lieutenant, entrusted by the Commissioners of His Catholic Majesty for the transfer of this Post of Nuevo Madrid to the above-mentioned Republic, all the documents and papers mentioned above in the inventory. That inventory consists of four numbered pages and I have charge of them from this time. In order that it may so appear for his discharge and for other advisable purposes, I give this present which I sign with the above-mentioned witnesses in Nuevo Madrid, March twenty, one thousand eight hundred and four.

Juan Lavallée (rubric).
Pedro Antonio Laforge (rubric).
Joseph Charpentier (rubric).
B. Olives (rubric).

CXIX

REPORT OF THE VALUATION OF ROYAL BUILDINGS IN NEW MADRID, CAMPO DE LA ESPERANZA AND AKANSAS &c.

General Archives of the Indies, Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

Resume of the valuation of the buildings in the posts of Upper Luisiana.

	[Pesos.]
Nuevo Madrid	1,670
Campo de la Esperanza	200
Akansas	631
Punta Cortada	935
Galvestown	3,438-2
	6,874-2

Letter to Cevallos:]

YOUR EXCELLENCY:

I had not sent the calculation of the edifices of Upper Luisiana, as Your Excellency was pleased to order me to do in the Royal order of September 24th, inasmuch as it was not concluded and inasmuch as Colonel Don Carlos de Lassus, its Governor, had not descended the river, to this Capital, but his arrival furnishes the fulfilment of that sovereign order, and the five enclosed documents will show Your Excellency the valuation of the buildings belonging to His Majesty in the posts of that district, namely, San Luis, Nuevo Madrid, Campo de la Esperanza, and Akansas.

They are accompanied also by those for Punta Cortada and Galvestown, which had not been received for the despatch to Nueva Orleans and its island, the whole amounting to the sum of six thousand eight hundred and seventy-four pesos, and two reals.

The fortified precinct of the city of San Luis, the Capital of those settlements, has not been estimated because of the absolute condition of ruin in which it has been for some time past, as is well known, and as is demonstrated by the copy of official communication No. 6, which was placed in my hands by the above-mentioned Colonel at his arrival at this Capital on the fifth of the current month, after he had disembarked at Baton Rouge the artillery, war supplies and ammunition which he brought down the river. With that, so far as I am concerned, the delivery and evacuation of the Province of Luisiana is completely executed, in accordance with the orders which His Majesty had been pleased to give me, there remaining only the demarcation of the western boundary, whose important determination depends on the superior Government. May God, etc.

Nueva Orleans, February 28, 1805.

THE MARQUIS DE CASA-CALVO.

Addressed: "His Excellency, Don Pedro Cevallos."

Letter from De Lassus:]

The delivery of the posts of the territory of Ylinoa in my command having been concluded in the terms advised me, I considered it my duty to fulfil the formality which Your Lordships were pleased to order in your official communication of December 31st, last, to the effect that the works and buildings belonging to the King in the City of San Luis be inventoried and appraised. And although its total condition of ruin and absolute decadence was evident, well-known men having been chosen so that with two witnesses and the aid of the storekeeper, Don Manuel Gonzalez Moro, they might pass to examine the district and works of said city, after they had seen and examined it with the greatest minuteness, they declared unanimously, that its condition was such that, in conscience, and according to their knowledge and understanding, they could not assign any value, since everything was useless, and was naught else than stone upon stone taken from the same place, the few timbers used being entirely rotted.

Their declaration did not surprise me at all, especially as I had informed, on an opportune occasion, Don Manuel Gayoso and Don Manuel Salcedo, governors of this Province of the deterioration of said works, but they could not remedy the damage because of the scarcity of money and the straits of the times. Therefore, assured by their report, of what I was assured of, and as we were all persuaded, I practiced no further diligence contenting myself with informing Your Lordship thereof, in fulfilment of my obligation.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years. Nueva Orleans, February 6, 1805.

CARLOS DE HAULT DE LASSUS (rubric).

Addressed: "Marquis de Casa Calvo."

In consequence of a letter despatched from Nueva Orleans, December thirty-one, last, 1803, by the Marquis de Casa Calvo, and Don Manuel de Salcedo, Brigadiers of the Royal armies, commissioned by His Catholic Majesty for the delivery of the Colony and Province of Luisiana to the French Republic, directed to Don Juan Lavallée, civil and military Commandant of the Post of Nuevo Madrid, who was commissioned by said gentlemen for the delivery of said post, under the formalities of having the buildings belonging to the King inventoried and appraised by experts, to the Prefect, Pedro Clement Laussat, commissioned by the above-mentioned French Republic, or to any other person expressed and appointed for that purpose according to the last treaty of retrocession;

Since by the terms of a letter despatched from the said Nueva Orleans, January twelve of this year, the above-mentioned Commissary of the French Republic, appoints and constitutes as Agent and Commissary in behalf of his nation, Pedro Chouteau of Los Ylinneses, or any other person who shall be commissioned, to coöperate with the above-mentioned Commandant, Don Juan Lavallée in making the inventories and appraisals of the buildings which belong to the King; and by another letter despatched on the tenth of the current month, the abovesaid Pedro Chouteau constitutes and appoints as his Agent the militia officer, Don Amador Francisco Riche Dupin of this post for the purpose of coöperating in the name of the French Republic in the said inventories and appraisals;

In virtue of the respective powers expressed above, and in order to work regularly on the abovesaid inventories and appraisals, I, Don Juan Lavallée, in the quality of Commandant of this post, and for the interests of His Catholic Majesty, appoint as experts and as appraisers of the buildings belonging to the King in the above-mentioned post, Jacobo Myers, carpenter, and Luis Coignard of this city; and I, Don Francisco Riche Dupin, Agent appointed by Don Pedro Chouteau, appoint as experts and appraisers of the above-mentioned buildings for the French Republic, Matias Belson and Trinchard, carpenters of this post. Those experts on both sides being present, and having taken the fitting oath to perform it faithfully and legally, accepted in the presence of the witnesses, Don Pedro Antonio Laforge and Don Juan Bautista Oliva, militia officers of this post; and in attestation of that affixed their signatures together with us, Don Juan Lavallée and Francisco Riche Dupin, and the above-mentioned witnesses. Nuevo Madrid, March eighteen, one thousand eight hundred and four.

RICHE DUPIN.
TRINCHARD.
MATIAS BELSON.
PEDRO ANTONIO LAFORGE.
JUAN LAVALLÉE.
LOUIS COIGNARD.
JACOB MYERS.
B. OLIVE [*sic*].
(Seven rubrics).

Inventory of Nuevo Madrid:]

Then we went immediately and first to the church with the experts who had been appointed, accompanied by the witnesses. That building is sixty feet long, twenty-eight wide, and sixteen feet high between the ground and the ceiling. Its carpenter work is constructed of cypress timber doubled on the outside with planks of the same wood. It has a partition in its width for the sacristy, ten openings with their windows and gratings, an altar with a tabernacle of cherry wood, and a picture of the most holy Virgin Mary, eight feet high by five and one-half feet wide, framed in wood, a railing in front where communion is taken, a pulpit of cherry wood, a belfry with a metal bell weighing fifty pounds. The experts estimated unanimously that it was altogether worth one thousand two hundred pesos. 1,200

At the same time we went to the parochial house. It is twenty-six feet long and sixteen feet wide, doubled without and within with cypress planks; the floor and ceiling, and a wall of cypress planks; a double brick chimney; four openings with their windows and doors and their gratings; a gallery in front, with a floor and ceiling; a cellar under said house, and a stairway to mount to the garret; another house which is used as a kitchen, and which is eighteen feet long and fifteen feet wide. The experts unanimously estimated the whole to be worth three hundred and fifty pesos..............350

At the same time we went with the same experts and witnesses above-mentioned to the bakehouse. That building is fifteen feet long and ten wide, and has a brick chimney, an oven thirty feet in circumference, with frames completely made of bricks, with a roof, made of carpenter work to cover it, a bread-marker, a flour-sieve, shovels, pokers, casks, canvases and sheets for covering the bread, and other utensils of little value. The experts unanimously estimated the whole at one hundred and twenty pesos.............120

Total 1,670

As there were no other buildings belonging to the King, to appraise in this Post, we the above-mentioned Commissioners have signed these presents, together with the experts and witnesses abovementioned. Six copies of them were drawn up — three of them in the Spanish language, and the other three in French. Nuevo Madrid, March eighteen, one thousand eight hundred and four.

Riche Dupin.
Trinchard.
Moitions [*sic*] Belson.
Pedro Antonio Laforge.
Juan Lavallée.
Louis Coignard.
Jacob Myers.
B. Olive.
(Eight rubrics.)

Inventory of Campo de la Esperanza:]

In the fort of Campo de la Esperanza, March nine, one thousand eight hundred and four, I, Agustin Grande, first Sergeant of the Infantry Regiment of Luisiana, and Commandant of the abovementioned post, made an inventory of it and what belongs to His Majesty, which is to be handed over to the French Republic, by virtue of the order to that effect given December thirty-one of last year, which was handed to me by Brigadiers Don Manuel de Salcedo and the Marquis de Casa Calvo, who were commissioned by His Majesty for the delivery of this province of Luisiana. That of this post is all in the following form.

One cypress flagstaff seventy-two feet high.

One halliard of forty-five yards [? llardas] weighing sixteen pounds.

Two blockhouses, each composed of sixty-two pieces of hewn wood; of three stories; made of cypress planks with their two doors, hooks, hinges, locks, bolts, and iron keys, and covered with shingles.

Two hundred and twenty-two hewn stakes of poplar [*paple*]. which surround the square of the fort.

Two half-gates of the fort with their hooks and hinges of iron.

Two sentry boxes, for the sentinels, of cypress planks and shingled with cypress.

One bakehouse, composed of pieces of timber, with its door, chimney, clay oven with its small roof, all covered with *pios* and cypress bark.

And since the abovesaid is all that is to be delivered to the Artillery Captain of the post, Citizen Don Gorge N. Carmichael, in accordance with the order of the two gentlemen given by the Colonial Prefect, Don Pedro Clemente Laussat, Commissary of the French Republic, dated January thirteen of the present year, to the effect that the above-mentioned Captain take charge of the command of this post in the name of said Republic. And in order that it may be evident that such has been done, I sign the same on this present day of the above date.

AGUSTIN GRANDE (rubric).

Post delivered:]

I have received from the first Sergeant of the Infantry Regiment of Luisiana, Agustin Grande, the command of this post of Campo de la Esperanza, in the name of the French Republic, with everything mentioned in the preceding inventory, by virtue of the order or authorization given me therefor by the Colonial Prefect, Don Pedro Clemente Laussat, Commissary of said Republic. And in order that such may be apparent to whomever it concerns, I sign the present, March nine, one thousand eight hundred and four.

CARMICHAL (rubric).

Inventory of San Estevan:]

Inventory of the edifices and effects, belonging to His Catholic Majesty, which exist in the fort of San Estevan de Akansas: and which I, the Captain of the Regiment of Luisiana, Don Francisco Casa y Luengo, deliver by superior order of the Artillery Lieutenant of the United States of America, Don Santiago B. Many, authorized by the Colonial Prefect, to receive them in the name of the French Republic.

One stockade, with two doors, banquettes, and esplanades, two bulwarks, with four loopholes, each one in normal condition.

One house for the Commandant, 36 feet long, by 16 wide, with two galleries, two closets at the ends of that of the back, two apart-ments, one double clay chimney; covered with shingles; the whole in very bad condition.

One barracks, 50 feet long by 20 wide, covered with shingles, planked on top, with a double clay chimney, and at the end a division which is used as a prison.

A storehouse supported on props, 45 feet long by 20 broad; covered with shingles; with a division for the war supplies. It is in poor condition throughout.

A kitchen for the use of the Commandant, 20 feet long by 12 broad; covered with shingles; in normal state.

An earthen oven near the fort; in normal condition.

Three sentry-boxes, in a very poor condition.

One flagstaff, in good condition.

The locks, keys, hinges, and latches, respectively, for each building; in normal order.

And since these are the only buildings and effects belonging to His Catholic Majesty, of which I make delivery to the above-mentioned Don Santiago B. Many, I closed this inventory, which I signed with him in the fort of San Estevan de Akanzas, March twenty-three, one thousand eight hundred and four.

FRANCISCO CASA Y LUENGO.
JAMES B. MANY.

Appraisal of San Estevan:]

We, the abovesigned, in fulfilment of the orders given us by the Commissaries of His Catholic Majesty and the French Republic, after the preceding inventory had been concluded, proceeded to the appraisal of the buildings contained therein. In order to execute it with the formality ordered us, we appointed as experts: I, Don Francisco Casa y Luengo, Don Joseph Bogy and Juan Bautista Derrousseau; and I, Don Santiago B. Many, Don Francisco Vaugine and Pedro Lefevre, all habitants of this district. They having taken oath to exercise that duty with all legality and impartiality, according to their loyal knowledge and understanding, began by the

	PESOS
House of the Commandant, which they have appraised at three hundred pesos	300
The barracks, at two hundred pesos	200
The magazine, at one hundred pesos	100
The kitchen with its oven, at twenty-five pesos	25
The three sentry-boxes at six pesos	6
Total	631

That appraisal made with complete care, amounts to six hundred and thirty-one pesos, as appears above. We, the Commissioners and the experts appointed by each part, affixed our signatures, on the above-mentioned day, month, and year.

Francisco Casa y Luengo.
James B. Many.
Iph Bagy [*sic*].
Bautista Desrousseau.
Francisco Vaugine.
Pierre Lefevre.

[The inventory and appraisal of the royal property in Galvezton, both made on June 12, 1804, follow. This shows property to the value of 3,438 pesos 2 reals.]

Thomas Estevan (rubric).
Stephen Stule.
Sign of the cross + for
Enrique Vilar.
Alexandro Norie.
Guillermo Campelle [*sic*].
Sign of the cross + for
Francisco Bony.

[At the post of Punta Cortada, the appraisal of the royal property was made on February 7, 1804, under charge of Guillermo Duparc for the Spanish, and Julian Poydras for the French, who had been commissioned therefor by the Spanish Brigadiers, Manuel de Salcedo and the Marquis de Casa Calvo, and the French Colonial Prefect Clemente Lausat respectively. As experts and witnesses they were assisted by Simon Croiset and Francisco Gremillion, Juan Bautista Beauvais, Pedro Laurence, Francisco Patin, and Zenon Allain. The amount of the appraisal was 935 pesos.]

CXX

ARTILLERY, SUPPLIES, FURNITURE, AND FLATBOATS OF UPPER LOUISIANA DELIVERED TO THE SPANISH AUTHORITIES AT NEW ORLEANS — 1805

General Archives of the Indies, Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

Letter from Grand-Pré:]

For Your Lordship's information, I enclose you seven lists which include the artillery, supplies, furniture, and flatboats proceeding from the posts of Upper Luisiana, which Colonel Don Carlos de Hault de Lassus handed over en route to this place by means of the respective storekeepers, by order of Your Lordship, whose acknowledgement of receipt by this storekeeper, I shall inmediately send to the Governor of West Florida.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years. Baton Rouge, February 1, 1805. Carlos de Grand-Pre (rubric).
Addressed: "Marquis de Casa Calvo."

Letter to Grand-Pre:]

The seven lists including the artillery, supplies, furniture, and flatboats proceeding from the posts of Upper Luisiana are in my possession, which at his arrival, Colonel Don Carlos de Hault de Lassus, Lieutenant-Governor of those posts, discharged according as Your Lordship advises me under date of the 1st of the current month.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years. Nueva Orleans, February 10, 1805. Marquis de Casa Calvo.
Addressed: "Don Carlos de Grand-Pre."

Report showing the supplies of artillery which I have received from Don Juan Lavallée, former Militia Lieutenant and storekeeper of the post of Nueva Madrid, and which he has brought from the said post, to wit:

Iron Cannons

Four cannons of the caliber of 4.
Three swivel-guns, of the caliber of one-half libra.

Carriages and Single Wheels of the Same

One carriage of the caliber of four, in medium shape.

Four single wheels of the same caliber, in medium shape.

Plain Balls

One hundred and seventy-eight balls of the caliber of four.

Three balls of the caliber of six.

Three balls of the caliber of eight.

Nineteen balls for the half-libra swivel-gun.

Grapeshot

Four charges of grapeshot of the caliber of four.

Two hundred and ninety-five single balls of grapeshot for cannons of 4.

Six hundred single balls of grapeshot for swivel-guns, of the caliber of one-half libra.

Hand Grenades

Seventy-six of the same, without charges.

Arms and Utensils for the Service of the Pieces.

Three ladles of 4, in medium shape.

Three wad-drawers of the same caliber, in the same shape.

Five ramrods of the same, in the same shape.

Six gun-aprons of the same, in the same shape.

Five sponges of the same, in the same shape.

One scraper of the same, in the same shape.

Two canvas covers; useless.

Two bolsters.

Two gun quoins.

Six useless handspikes.

One swivel-gun scraper, in medium shape.

Two ramrods for the same, in the same shape.

Two ladles for the same, in the same shape.

Two wad-drawers for the same, in the same shape.

Two gun aprons for the same, in the same shape.

Two tampions for the same, in the same shape.

Six libras of matchcord.

Thirteen spikes for spiking the cannons.

Two priming-horns with their needles.

One matchbox of sheet tin, in medium shape.

Three wood cartridge boxes of the same, in the same condition.

One cartridge box of the same, in the same condition.

Two sponge heads for a swivel-gun, in the same condition.

One sheet tin measure of one half libra, in the same condition.

One large hammer.

One crowbar.

Three campaign [*combate*] lanterns of sheet tin; useless.

One hundred and ten libras of musket balls.

Four hundred and ninety-four libras of powder, three hundred and ninety-four in a half good condition, and one hundred useless.

Thirty-nine Spanish muskets in half good condition; twelve of them without ramrods.

Twenty-six bayonets [*balloneta*s] in the same condition.

Forty-nine musket bayonets; useless.

Forty-five cartridge-boxes; useless.

One saber broken in two.

Three wadding tilts, useless.

One of the same, for campaign use, in the same condition.

One bugle of sheet tin; in a half good condition.

Baton Rouge, February first, one thousand eight hundred and five.

Francisco Miranda.

With my intervention,

Carlos de Grand-Pre.

O. K.

Grand-Pre (rubric).
Francisco Miranda (rubric).

Report showing the war-supplies which I have received from Don Manuel Gonzalez Moro, former storekeeper of Ylinoa, and which he has brought from said post; to wit:

Iron Cannons

Six cannons of the caliber of eight.

Six cannons of the caliber of six.

Five cannons of the caliber of four.

Five cannons of the caliber of two.

Two cannons of the caliber of one.

Thirteen swivel-guns of various calibers.

Arms and tools for the service of the pieces

Three ramrods of the caliber of eight.

Four ramrods of the caliber of six.

Nine ramrods of the caliber of four.
Three ramrods of the caliber of two.
Eight ramrods for the swivel-guns.
Three sponges of the caliber of eight.
Two sponges of the caliber of six.
Eight sponges of the caliber of four.
Two sponges for the swivel-guns.
Four ladles of the caliber of eight.
Two ladles, with wad-drawers of the caliber of six.
Five ladles of the caliber of four, without wad-drawers.
Two ladles of the caliber of two, with wad-drawers.
Two ladles of the caliber of one, with wad-drawers.
Two swivel-gun ladles, without wad-drawers.
One wad-drawer of the caliber of eight.
Three wad-drawers of the caliber of six.
Six wad-drawers of the caliber of four.
One wad-drawer of the caliber of two.
Three wad-drawers for the swivel-guns.
Twelve iron shovels.
One scraper of the caliber of eight.
Two scrapers of the caliber of two.
Three scrapers for the swivel-guns.

Plain Balls

Eight hundred and ninety-six balls of the caliber of eight.

Five hundred and eighty-nine balls of the caliber of six.

One thousand two hundred and eighty-seven balls of the caliber of four.

One hundred and ninety balls of the caliber of two.

Sixty balls of the caliber of one.

Rounds of Grapeshot

One hundred and seventy-three rounds of grapeshot of the caliber of eight.

Fifty-one rounds of grapeshot of the caliber of six, with shells of sheet-tin.

One hundred and five rounds of grapeshot of the caliber of four.

Thirty-five rounds of grapeshot of the caliber of two, with sheet-tin shells.

Three hundred and fifty rounds of grapeshot of the caliber of one, with sheet-tin shells.

Three hundred and fifty-one rounds of grapeshot, for the swivel-guns, with sheet-tin shells.

Fifty-eight canvas cartridges of the caliber of six, each containing two libras of powder.

Twenty-seven of the same, for the swivel-guns, each containing three ounces of powder.

One thousand six hundred and two libras of lead bullets, proceeding from various rounds of useless grapeshot.

Eighteen of the same, proceeding from three hundred musket cartridges.

Empty Cartridges

Two thousand and forty-two canvas cartridges of all calibers; useless.

One hundred and fifty hand grenades, in three cases of fifty a piece, with charges useless.

Two hundred and forty libras of powder in a half good condition.

Four sheet-tin matchboxes, only half good.

Eighteen spikes for spiking the artillery.

Eight gun-carriage pegs.

Eighteen pins, in the same condition.

Thirteen priming-horns with their needles.

Eight wooden cartridge boxes, only half good.

Ten of the same made of tin, in about the same condition.

One half-libra tin measure, entirely useless.

One wadding tilt; useless.

Two tarpaulings for carrying; also useless.

Seven hundred and thirty-seven Spanish muskets, twenty-four of which are entirely useless, eleven without a ramrod, and one without a lock.

Seven hundred and forty-six bayonets.

One thousand eight hundred and fifty-three libras of iron, proceeding from the ironwork of useless gun-carriages.

Baton Rouge, February first, one thousand eight hundred and five.

FRANCISCO MIRANDA.

With my intervention,

CARLOS DE GRAND-PRE.

FRANCISCO MIRANDA (rubric).

O. K.

GRAND-PRE (rubric).

Report showing the effects belonging to the department of fortification, which were brought down from Los Ylinneses and received in this fort; to wit:

A large iron jar weighing one hundred and five libras; only half good.

Another of the same, weighing ten libras, in about the same condition.

Nine iron chains.

One hundred and eighty-three useless iron shovels.

Fifty-one picks [*piochas*] in the same condition.

Four pickaxes, also useless.

Fifty-six large and small axes; useless.

Twelve adzes or *arminetas*, only half good.

Eleven rip saws, in the same condition.

Eight crosscut saws in about the same condition.

Fifty-two bits, one of them a screw bit, in about the same condition.

Forty chisels in about the same condition.

Seven clamps, in about the same condition.

Seventeen wooden planes without blades, in about the same condition.

Ten of the same with blades, in about the same condition.

Three two-handled knives; useless.

Thirty-three glass plates [*lunas*] twenty of which are useless.

Two hand handsaws, one of which is useless.

One hammer.

Three grindstones without winches.

Three winches for the same.

Four half-good hatchets.

Four carpenter glue-presses.

Twenty-six jackplane irons, planes, and *bobetes*.

One iron stonehammer.

One small smith's furnace.

One saw frame.

One rectangular whetstone.

One iron bar with five shackles.

One piece of rope, weighing eighty-one libras, only half good.

One large useless bronze mortar.

One useless flask for a bakery.

Cooper Tools

Two two-handled knives, only half good.

One saw set, in the same condition.

Two bent adzes.

One chisel or boring iron, in about the same condition.

One two-handled scoop, in about the same condition.

Another with one handle, in about the same condition.

Three blanketcoats for the sentinels, entirely useless.

Four cloaks, in about the same condition.

Ten yards of nankeen, in about the same condition.

One iron crossbar for balances, only half good.

Two flannel banners with the royal arms, only half good.

One flag of bunting; useless.

Three field lanterns made of sheet tin.

One lantern of mica.

Two flatboats of the largest size with two oars, and one large oar for a rudder.

One large pirogue.

One medium-sized pirogue.

Two carrying tarpaulings, quite useless.

Two bear skins, quite useless.

One deerskin, quite useless.

Four hundred and fifty-four libras of old iron proceeding from hinges, an anvil block, and various carpenter tools belonging to the department of fortifications, and iron work of the galliot "La Flecha."

Baton Rouge, February first, one thousand eight hundred and five.

FRANCISCO MIRANDA.

O. K.

GRAND-PRE (rubric).

Report showing [*MS. worn*] [ammuni]tion which I have received from Don Juan Lavallée, former Militia Lieutenant and storekeeper of the post of Nueva Madrid, and which he has brought to this post; to wit:

Six hundred and ninety-six libras of lead in pigs.

Two plank fenders or clapboards.

One pick.

One saw frame, only half good.

Two saw handles, in about the same condition.

Two pairs of fetters..

Two chains with fetters, the two weighing ten and one-half libras.

One well chain.

A bit of hemp rope, weighing sixty-nine libras, in half good condition.

Four two handled hand or crosscut saws.

One winch for a grindstone.

Two rip saws.

One balance with its crossbar and iron chain.

Three bits of iron weighing fifty-five libras, one of them without a ring.

One bit of lead weighing twenty-five libras.

One bit of lead weighing ten libras.

Another bit weighing nine libras.

Another bit weighing eight libras.

Another bit weighing six libras.

One mason's trowel.

Two iron hammers.

One flannel flag for the post, with the Royal arms.

Three sheets two and one-half *puntos* long; useless; proceeding from the hospital.

Four hundred and sixty-three libras of old iron, proceeding from gun-carriages, hinges, locks, gratings, and the iron of lamps.

Baton Rouge, February first, one thousand eight hundred and five.

FRANCISCO MIRANDA.

With my intervention,

CARLOS DE GRAND-PRE.
FRANCISCO MIRANDA (rubric).

O. K.

GRAND-PRE (rubric).

Report showing the Church furnishings which I have received from Don Juan Lavallée, former Militia Lieutenant and storekeeper of the post of Nuevo Madrid, and which he has brought to this post; to wit:

One altar.

Two satin chasubles.

Two stoles.

Two small stoles or maniples.
Two albs of fine linen.
Two corporals of fine linen.
Two small purses [*bolsitas*] of the same material.
One satin purse.
One bonnet.
Three altar cloths, one of which has a fringe.
One girdle.
Another, with several ends with tassels of thread; worn out.
Two [*illegible in transcript*].
Two altar linens.
Eight napkins.
One small purse of white and red satin.
One small silver box for holy days.
One of tin for the same.
One broken iron mold for making hosts.
One silver chalice and paten.
One silver ciborium with its cover.
One small box of sheet tin.
One earthenware baptismal fount for the holy water.
One holy water sprinkler.
One small bell,
One small cup with its *saluilla* (?) of earthenware.
One large cardboard for the altar.
Two small cardboards for the same purpose.
One silk veil to cover the chalice.
One worn missal.
Two rituals.
Two chant books.
One breviary.
One silk frontal in two pieces with silk galloon.
One ivory crucifix.
Six candlesticks of turned wood.

Baton Rouge, February first, one thousand eight hundred and five. FRANCISCO MIRANDA.

With my intervention,

CARLOS DE GRAND-PRE.
FRANCISCO MIRANDA (rubric).

O. K.

GRAND-PRE (rubric).

Report showing the effects belonging to the department of the hospital, which have been brought down from Los Ylinneses; to wit:

Eighteen sheets, fourteen of them of white cloth, and four of Russian cloth, still half good.

Five blankets, two and one-half *puntos* long; useless.

Ten mattresses of Groford, half good.

Two bolsters of the same material, in the same condition.

Three mosquito nets with borders; useless.

Two perfect syringes.

Twelve iron ladles, half good.

One sieve, with its rolling pin.

Two useless *puntos*.

One large iron fork, half good.

Three sheet-tin pans; useless.

One pan or jar of iron dented or useless.

Baton Rouge, February first, one thousand eight hundred and five.

FRANCISCO MIRANDA (rubric).

O. K.

GRAND-PRE (rubric).

Report showing the effects belonging to His Majesty's galliot named "La Flecha," belonging to the department of artillery, which have been brought down from San de Luis de Ylinneses; to wit:

Six swivel guns of one half libra.

Twenty-one Spanish muskets, five of them useless, because they lack ramrods.

Ten bayonets.

Six swivel-gun sponges.

One swivel-gun ladle.

One swivel-gun wad-drawer.

Two iron pots or jars; useless.

One large crew jar [*olla de tripulacion*].

One matchbox of sheet tin; useless.

Two cartridge boxes of the same material, and in the same condition, with a wooden bottom.

Two blocks with two pulleys, half good.

One block with three pulleys.

One large block with a pulley wheel.

Seven small blocks, each with one pulley wheel.

One sheet-tin lantern; useless.

One funnel of the same material, in the same condition.

One tar bucket.

Two wooden dishes, useless.

One pail with iron hoops; useless.

One *parreua* with iron hoops, in the same condition.

Nine sabres; useless.

One sheet-tin bugle; useless.

One small box of grapeshot with empty tin shells.

One small box containing ten small canvas sacks of swivel-gun grapeshot.

One iron bar with six rings.

Two useless empty boxes.

Baton Rouge, February first, one thousand eight hundred and five.

Francisco Miranda (rubric).

O. K.

Grand-Pre (rubric).

CXXI

THE BOUNDARY OF LOUISIANA ON THE UPPER MISSOURI AND MISSISSIPPI UNDER THE CESSION

General Archives of the Indies, Seville — Audiencia of Santo Domingo, Luisiana, and Florida.

Nueva Orleans, September 30, 1804.

The Marquis of Casa-Calvo, who represents in a report the imminent risks to which the interior provinces of Nueva España are exposed, if the Americans retain the west bank of the Misisipi.

Most Excellent Sir:
Sir:

The adjoined copies are transcripts of the representation and document that I am sending on this date through the Minister of State. As Your Excellency will see I am reflecting upon the information communicated by Colonel Don Carlos de Hault de Lassus, former Lieutenant-Governor of the settlements of Ylinoa; and discussing the memorial presented by Regis Loissel, I set forth the imminent danger to which the interior provinces are exposed, if the Americans retain the west bank of the Misisipi.

It is evident, General, that these dangers must be feared to the proportion that the easy and continuous communication by water from Hudson Bay to the Gulf of Mexico, without other obstacle than the sole portage of one-half league overland near the upper part of the Misury, is demonstrated in the memorial. Consequently, I propose the remedy that has appeared most suitable to me and even adequate, and that is the employment on the frontier of Nuevo Mexico of the author of the memorial as agent of the Indian tribes, with two subordinates to aid him in restraining the entrance of English and Americans.

I inform Your Excellency of this for your superior consideration.

May God preserve Your Excellency for many years. Nueva Orleans, September 30, 1804.

Your Excellency, The Marquis of CASA-CALVO (rubric).
Addressed: "His Excellency, the Prince of Peace."

Your Excellency:

Colonel Carlos de Hault de Lassus, ex-Lieutenant-Governor of the settlements of Ylinoa in Upper Luisiana, under date of August 10, secretly informed me of the results of his observations on the movements and conversations of the Americans in respect to the acquisition which they have made of that province.

He shows me clearly that the general idea of that nation is that their boundaries will pass through the very kingdom of Nuevo Mexico, and they carry their lines to the Bravo [*i. e.*, Rio Grande] River, penetrating by several points and following various small streams, showing only too clearly that they are making vast calculations, in consideration of the profits that they will make from the lands and the working of the mines.

They are planning to send a troop to the headwaters of the Misuri, for which object, and through others, officials, whom they are sending into Ylinoa, they are informing themselves in an efficacious manner and with continued eagerness from the Indians, hunters, and traders, in regard to the shortest paths by which to penetrate to Santa Fe and to other places of the Nuevo Reyno [*i. e.*, New Kingdom]. The traders Jeannot Metoyer[1] and Bautista Labarde,[2] who were to be joined among the tribes by the trader called Joseph Gerbais,[3] went as early as the month of July by the said Misury River for that purpose, leaving San Luis with merchandise and boats. All three are to work in concert, and have been equipped and supplied by Evan Morrison,[4] a wealthy inhabitant of Kaskaskias, an American post on the east bank of the Misisipi. Gervais, who knows the road well, will guide them and show them the way into the Nuevo Reyno.

Last year the same man conducted the Panis tribe to make peace with the Governor of Santa Fe or with the Commandant-General — a voyage which it appears has been repeated this spring. When returning he must have met Metoyer and Lalande [*sc.* Labarde]. With the same intention, and in order to facilitate the undertaking Lorenzo Deroche[5] and Santiago d'Eglisse[6] have gone to the upper waters of the Misury. They are recognized as the voyageurs of greatest knowledge and experience. The latter was employed by the Company of the Explorations of the Misury, and since he has not returned this year it is inferred that he has penetrated into Nuevo Mexico.

---

[1] The Metoyer family resided near Natchitoches.

[2] A José La Barbe claimed a league square of land on Red river near Natchitoches.

[3] Gervais — name of a Kaskaskia family — afterwards found in Ste. Genevieve.

[4] William Morrison, the richest and most enterprising merchant of the West at that time. He lived in and died at Kaskaskia.

[5] This man made a claim for land on the Dardenne.

[6] Hyacinthe Egliz was one of the early settlers of St. Louis. This Santiago may be the same. He had a grant of land on the Missouri.

The American Captain of Ylinoa, Mr. Stoddar, and [Mr.] Brush, in conference with the Osages Indians, have incited them to take the war-path and pillage the silver convoys which ply between different points, as they succeeded in doing some years ago.

The said Lieutenant-Governor advises that those posts abounded, at the time of his writing, in all sorts of the finest drygoods, and although there were more than three fourths above the ordinary consumption, more were being brought in daily, with the idea of sending them to the Mexican frontiers. He is of the opinion that unless the most efficacious measures and the most exact precautions are taken in order to restrain the contraband, in a short time the silver will go from the Nuevo Reyno de Mexico by the Misury instead of the furs which are the only product of that river.

On the same occasion he remits me the memorial whose translation accompanies this letter. This document, while it at the same time enforces and confirms whatever has been said in regard to the navigation of the Misury, its proximity to Nuevo Mexico, and the fatal consequences that must be feared from the ambition of our neighbors, proves the urgency and the absolute necessity of not yielding even one foot of the west bank of the Misisipi, although it be necessary to have recourse to arms for that purpose. Any other means, even delay in preventing by real force those dangerous neighbors from entering our possessions will occasion their inevitable loss.

The water communication from Hudson Bay to the Gulf of Mexico, as soon as it is known and frequented, can increase the British and American commerce to the extreme of power, and they will meet their greatest support and encouragement at the passage of the inland rivers. Because of the treasures that they will tear from the very bosom of Spain, they will totally ruin our commerce. What is even more to be feared, I believe, is that they will alienate the affection of the Indians [from us], and may, perhaps, cause other inconveniences of the greatest consideration. At the bank, then, of the Misisipi must be established and raised solidly the dike that will restrain the rapidity of this current. If what I have shown happens, that dike ought to be procured at all cost. It will be easier now however, by means of the most exact and continual vigilance of our Governors and Commandants to cut off the communication of the English who may penetrate by way of Hudson Bay, and of the Americans who may penetrate into the Misury by other currents than that bay.

The author of the memorial, Regis Loisel, proposes a method which is one of the most adaptable, and I am even so bold as to pronounce it one of the most adequate. Loisel has been an inhabitant of Ylinoa for some time, and both by his written statement and by the verbal conferences which I have held with him in order to instruct myself thoroughly of the matter, he advises me that he understands thoroughly and that he knows practically about 500 leagues of the course of the Misury. He is active, young, and enterprising,- and I consider him suitable, and consequently, faithful, in the discharge of his promises. With these qualities, and since he possesses a knowledge of the English and French languages, at the same time that he preserves the goodwill of the tribes by means of trade, he can easily destroy the projects of the English and Americans, if he be employed on the frontier as agent of the Indian tribes, and if he also be given liberty to select one or two other men to help him, who shall receive a fixed salary.

I must beg Your Excellency to keep in mind numbers 1-15, with the exception of the 4th, 6th, and 7th, which are so closely connected with the present irrefragible testimony, which urges more and more the arguments and reasons in those settlements wherefore the Americans should not be permitted under any consideration to retain possession of the west bank of the Misisipi; and why this river should constitute the line of division between Spain and the United States, from its source to its discharge into the Gulf of Mexico, even if we should not succeed in regaining the island of Nueva Orleans on the said west bank, which I have also proposed, and which I ever conceive as the most advisable thing.

I entreat Your Excellency to please bring this to the superior notice of His Majesty, in order that he may opportunely give the orders that are deemed most advisable for the preservation of those vast dominions in the imminent risks to which I believe them exposed. May God preserve Your Excellency many years.

Nueva Orleans, September 30, 1804. Your Excellency,
The Marquis of CASA-CALVO.

Addressed: "His Excellency, Don Pedro Ceballos."

[On the manuscript is also written: "A copy. The Marquis of Casa-Calvo (rubric)".]

To Don Carlos de Hault de Lassus, Colonel of the Infantry Regiment of Luisiana and its dependencies, etc.

In accordance with the instructions which Your Excellency was pleased to honor me on the 15th of April of last year 1803, I must inform you of what I have been able to learn on my last voyage for the trade and explorations of the Upper Misury, with relation to the Indian tribes whom I have frequented, their political status, commerce, etc.

I shall say nothing, Sir Lieutenant-Governor, of the customs of those tribes, which differ but little if any from those of other savages. But I shall inform Your Excellency in writing of the geographical location of the districts which are of interest to the Government. Your Excellency will see therefrom and very distinctly how exposed the domains of His Majesty are to the undertakings of the foreigners who have for a long time been introducing themselves into the upper Misury, bribing the tribes by holding large assemblies among them in which they reveal propositions most harmful to our Government by taking away the richest furs.

They accompany all their steps with presents, which are the prime mover and the delight of these tribes, who will do whatever one may ask of them, by virtue of the merchandise. The presents or gifts incite them to peace or war, and decide the preference of their affection toward one or the other government. The gifts, in a word, are the great mainspring which moves them with the greatest facility.

Not having taken two years on my voyage, as I had promised myself, I have not had time to acquire all the information that I had proposed to myself, because of having been detained in the Island of Cedros[7] by the Sioux tribe, who kept me in sight all through the past winter. That, besides having caused me a great loss, has made it necessary for me to descend the river in order to adjust my business. I would have again ascended, however, had it not been for the change which the Government has experienced, in order to satisfy the intentions of our Government and satisfy the confidence that it has reposed in me. I have sent M. Sabeau, my agent and man of affairs, with seven more under his orders and my express orders with instructions to continue the undertaking in my name.

---

[7] Fort aux Cedars, a four bastioned fort, built by Loisel in 1800 on an island in the Missouri.

Nevertheless, I have discovered, Sir Lieutenant-Governor, that one may travel by water in a certain manner, from Hudson Bay to the chain of mountains in Mexico which surrounds Santa Fe, with the exception of a small portage overland of one-half league, in order to cross the small tongue or isthmus which separates the river *Bois Blanc* [*i. e.*, White Wood — the James or Dakota] from the River Qui Parle [*i. e.*, Who Speaks — the Sheyenne], which empties into the Colorada [*i. e.*, Red River of the North], which in turn empties into Lake Ouanipik [*i. e.*, Winipeg].

I must tell Your Excellency at this point of the chief known tributaries that flow into the Misury. The Rio Chato (Riviere Platte) [*i. e.*, Platte River], which empties into the Misury at a distance of two hundred leagues from the Misisipi must not be passed by in silence. It rises west of Santa Fe, and flows between two mountains bordering the Nuevo Reyno de Mexico in order to discharge its waters into the Misury under the well-known name of Rio Chato. It is impossible to open navigation with the Mexican territory by means of its channel, but there is no necessity for it, for transportation overland is easy and the distance but slight, and the road which is open so far as the savages are concerned, assures the American of the ease of penetrating without any trouble. In order to stop that, no other means present themselves than the resistance of the tribes. It is important that they be not allowed to be bribed by a new people of whom they know nothing more than the name; for they will always respect the word that Your Excellency has passed them, so long as they do not abandon themselves to a new master entirely. Let the Government cultivate their affection by the means by which men of all sorts may not be separated if they are employed suitably, and one may then immediately count on their fidelity. Benefits diffused and received for the sake of friendship and confidence, however slight that be, exceed in merit those which are scattered by fear and distrust although abundantly and profusely. Such is the political situation and general opinion of the tribes whom I have visited and with whom I have talked.

Ascending the Misury one hundred and thirty leagues above the mouth of the Rio Chato (Riviére Platte) one comes to the Rio Que Corre [*i. e.*, River which runs — the Niobrara?]. Its direction is the same, and it rises in the first mountains known under the name of Costa Negra [*i. e.*, Black Hills]. That name was doubtless given those mountains because of the color of the earth. Under that earth are hidden precious minerals, as is declared by the tribes who frequent them. They are so abundant that they are found in nuggets, scattered here and there both in various places upon the Rio Chato and upon this river [Que Corre].

Although my purpose has been to fix my attention upon the rivers which empty into the Misuri, and rise on the side of the Spanish possessions or in Mexico, I must not fail to inform Your Excellency of the River Bois Blanc, which is also called the River Jacques [*i. e.*, James]. Its mouth is on the north side of the Misury fifteen leagues above the Rio Que Corre (Riviére Qui Court), of which we have just spoken.

This river, which is about two hundred leagues in length, and runs north northwest, rises very near the other which is called Rio Que Habla (Riviére Que Parle). The latter flows into another river called Colorado, and empties at the north into Lake Oanipik. Consequently, in order to reach the Misury by way of these last three rivers, one need make an overland portage of only one-half league.

The waters of Lake Oanipik communicate with Hudson Bay by means of the small river called York [*i. e.*, Nelson] which unites them. That allows one to believe that communication by water would be very possible from Hudson Bay to the Gulf of Mexico by means of a small portage one-half league in length between the river Que Habla and the river Jacques, and a second one at the costas [*i. e.*, hills or mountains] of Santa Fe.

Hudson Bay communicates with Lake Oanipik by means of York River. The said lake communicates also with the Colorado River, which unites with the River Que Habla, whose waters it receives. Here there is a small portage in order to reach the River Jacques which empties into the Misury, Thence ascending the Rio Chato or the River Que Corre, one may reach the mountains of Santa Fe, where are found the branches of the Rio del Norte [*i. e.*, Rio Grande, that forms the boundary between Mexico and Texas], which empties into the Gulf of Mexico.

Reascending the Misury to a distance of 450 leagues from San Luis, one comes to the River Chayennes, or as it is also called, the Courche or Braso. It offers the same means of communication with Nuevo Mexico to the west by crossing the Costa Negra of which we have spoken above. It rises in the chain of mountains in which are found settlements of Nuevo Mexico.

Continuing to ascend the Misury, one comes to the River of

Rocas Paxizas (Roches Jaunes) [*i. e.*, Yellowstone], which leads also to the western region, and rises in the mountains of Nuevo Mexico, which extend farthest to the west.

Upon the banks of all these rivers as well as upon the banks of all that empty into them, are found an infinite number of different wandering tribes, who are as ready for war as for peace, and have their boundaries at the mountain chain of Nuevo Mexico; and [others who] are settled in fixed villages. The latter are the Ricaras, the Mandanas, the Ventrudos or Gros Ventres, and the Souliers (Zapatos), and they are located on the Misury. The wandering tribes are the Chayennes, Cayuguhas, Caninambiches, Catacas, Otomies, Chahuines, Sioux, Bois Brule, Sahonis, Onkpapas, Okendanes, Sintones, Zuktones, Zuktoananes, Huapitones, and Minikahuhup There are also other tribes whom I have not visited, and whom I know only by name, who are also wandering. Such are the Cuerbos Serpientes, Ventrudos Volantes, Change de Venille, Salzis, Pieds Ganes, and Pieds Negros, all very numerous.

At the present time when the United States of America have negotiated for this province of Luisiana, their undertakings are so much more to be feared, for they believe that their boundaries ought to be considered as the sources of the various rivers which empty by different branches into the Misisipi, although many of those rivers take their rise in the midst of Spanish settlements. The Americans are enterprising and ambitious, and there is no doubt but that they will avail themselves of any means in their power to win the minds of the savage tribes, and will endeavor to erase by cunning arguments the fine impressions of our Government that they have received. In spite of the deep-rooted affection of the Indians toward us, it is quite easy to bribe them, by means of presents, as I have remarked, and I am of the opinion that the Government ought to watch over this so important matter. We have examples that these barbarous nations have fallen upon various Spanish settlements which they have devastated after having murdered a portion of their inhabitants, and carried the remainder off as slaves. The Spanish Government has kept them from making such raids for many years by winning and captivating their goodwill by making enormous expenditures, so that today they venerate His Majesty's banner, and the name of their great Spanish Father. But if with the lapse of time they hear no more talk of it, they will forget about it, and the Americans will captivate their minds with much less difficulty, and will make use of the

Indians for their ambitious designs. Already do they talk of making the Mexican pesos descend the Misury by proposing to establish contraband trade with that kingdom. With that object in mind they are proposing to establish great merchandise magazines on the frontiers. Some men have already set out in order to prepare the way and to assure communication from the side of Santa Fe. I shall not dwell further on the consequences which Your Excellency can judge for yourself. I have privately undertaken the continuation of the explorations that were commenced by the Company of the Misury. I have made great sacrifices in the presents which I have had to make to the savages in the name of the Government, especially on this last journey, in order to cover the foreign flags and medals, as Your Excellency had ordered me, by making gifts to the chiefs. In this way I have succeeded with the Chayennes, Caninambiches, Sioux, Sabines, or Sahonas, and Ricaras.[7] There is no one here who knows as much as I do of the distant tribes among whom I have penetrated farthest. In view of this exposition, and as I am desirous of following Your Excellency's banners, since it is probable that the Government intends to employ some trustworthy person to restrain these tribes, and dissuade them from heeding all the persuasions and prejudicial impressions with which the Americans will endeavor to imbue them against the Government, and perhaps against

---

[7] Of the tribes mentioned by Regis Loisel, those that can be identified from Schoolcraft are as follows:

Ricaras	Arickarees.
Mandanas	Mandans.
Gros Ventres	The same.
Chayennes	Cheyennes.
Sioux	The same.
Bois Brule	A Sioux band.
Onkpapas	Oncpapah.
Okendanes	Okinakanes (?)
Sintones	Sissitons *or* Sussitongs (?)
Huapitones	Wappatoo (?)
Cuerbos	Crows.
Serpientes	Snakes.
Ventrudos Volantes	Prairie Gros Ventres
Salzis	Salish *or* Flatheads
Pieds Ganes	Subtribe of Blackfeet Sioux.
Pieds Negros	Blackfeet

The others may perhaps be identified by an examination of the publications of the Ethnological Bureau or other Indian publications. Some of them are doubtless subtribes of the Sioux stock, while some of them may be tribes of the region of the Columbia River, or even of the Southwest. An examination of old French maps of this period will doubtless reveal some of these names.

the Spanish settlements, whether by trade or by arms, I offer myself voluntarily, promising my good services as a faithful vassal, and the one best fitted for the undertaking, if the Government desires to honor me with its confidence, by giving me some employment on the frontier, such as that of agent of the tribes, with the object of preserving their friendship with us and avoiding the result of the persuasions of the Americans, etc., etc., etc.

San Luis de Ylinoa, May 28, 1804.

Regis Loisel.

[A copy.]
Addressed: "The marquis of Casa-Calvo (rubric)."

CXXII

STATISTICAL CENSUS OF ST. GENEVIEVE AND ITS DISTRICTS AND ITS PRODUCTS

PAPERS FROM THE ISLAND OF CUBA

Names of Inhabitants	Numbers and Ages of Whites in Family				Free				Slaves				Wheat	Corn	To-bacco	Salt	Lead
					Mulattoes		Negroes		Mulattoes		Negroes						
	Men			Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Bushels	Bushels	Pounds	Bushels	Pounds
Dⁿ Enrique Peyroux[1]		2		2					1	2	7	1	150	100		250	
Sangerme Bauvais[2]	4	4		4					6	4	5	4	900	200	800		16000
Franᶜᵒ Morecus[3]	3	3		4					1	2	11	7	450	800	1000		20000
Pedro Aubuchon	2	1		3							2	1	40	160	80		10000
Antonio Aubouchon[4]	3	3		2					1		3	1	100	200			
YsabelLangueville, Widow[5]	1	1		3									50	100			
Manuel Bourguignon[6]	2	2		2							1		200	350	100		
Pedro Fortin[7]		3		1							1		180	250	200		
Tropé Ricar[8]		1		3					1		2	1		200			
Nicolas Paquin[9]	1	2		2						1	1		180	350	100		
Luis Lalumandiere[10]	3	3		4							1	1	200	300	50		
Simon Ubardeau[11]	1	1		3							3	4	150	600			
Madᵃ Larochelle, Widow	1	2		2										100			
Franᶜᵒ Bernier[12]	1	1		4							1	1	200	500	100		
Dⁿ Carlos Vallé[13]		1		1									100	120	50		
Nicolas Boyér[14]	2	1		1									45	120			2000
Dⁿ Carlos Peyroux[15]		1		1							1	2					
Pedro Marcou[16]	1	3		2										150			
Carlos Aine[17]	2	2	1	1									100	200	160		
Pedro Dorlac[18]	1	2		1							1		150	350	80		
Nicolas Lachance[19]	1	6	1	1							1	2	200	500	200		
Pedro Grenó[20]	4	1	1	1									50	100	100		
Luis Bolduc[21]	1	3		1					1		14	6	1400	3000	1500	300	30000
Estevan Parent[22]	1	2		2	1						1	2	200	500	100		
Madama Leclér, Widow[23]	1		1	1							4	6	100	500	110		
Dⁿ Juan Bapᵃ Vallé	4	3	1	2							17	21	400	1500	2000	150	10000
Pedro Moreau[24]	1	1		3									60	260	80		

STATISTICAL CENSUS OF ST. GENEVIEVE AND ITS DISTRICTS AND ITS PRODUCTS (*Continued*)

Names of Inhabitants	Numbers and Ages of Whites in Family				Free				Slaves				Wheat	Corn	To-bacco	Salt	Lead
					Mulattoes		Negroes		Mulattoes		Negroes						
	Men			Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Bushels	Bushels	Pounds	Bushels	Pounds
Ypolito Bolon [25]	3	2		3													
Luis Loriguier [26]	3	1	1	2							3	3					
Pedro Chauvin [27]		2		2									50	120	60		
Tomas Lail		3		1													
Marcos Constante [28]		1															
Andres Deguirre [29]	2	6		3					1		2	1	400	600	200		
Madama Lacroix, Widow	1	1	1	1						1	2	3	300	500	150		
José Chevalier	2	3		4							1	2	100	200			
Carlos Belmare [30]	2	2		3									100	150	100		
Franco Simoneau [31]	3	1		2									120	150	50		
Juan Dovis [32]	2	5		3							5	3	300	400	250		
Luis Grifaut [33]	2	2		4										100			
Carlos Tiseron [34]		2												150	50		
Perodo Lafleur		1		1													
José Perodo [35]	2	1		1													
Luis Lasablonmiere [36]		1		1													
Franco Lafleur		2		2									50	100	50		
Estevan Gauvrau [37]		1											60	200			
Lavioleta [38]		1		2													
Da Franco Vallé	4	3		5					4	2	20	12	400	1000	1500	100	20000
Franco Covet	1		1	1										100	50		
Juan Chatillon [39]		1	1	3										100			
Luis Bois [40]	2	1		1									60	200	50		
Juan Bapa Bequet	1	1								1		1	110	300	60		
Bapa Lampaine [41]	1	1		2													
Juan Taumou [42]	5	2		3									30	180			
Luis Tonelier		2		2													10000

Carlos Bequet	1	2		2					1			1	110	350	400		
Josef Lalaumandiere	3	3		2								1	60	150			
Mad^{a} Gagnon, Widow	1	2	1	2									50	100			
Vital Bauvais	3	2		5					1	2	11	7	400	600	600	250	10000
Parfait Dufaut [43]	1	1		5					1				120	200			
José Metais	1	1		1													
Estevan Delinel [44]		2		1					4	3			60	100	100		
Pedro Lebreau [45]	3	1		7	1							3	50	80	50		
Pedro Auge	1	1		1									30				
Nicolas Rouoin	3	2		4								1	200	400	150		
Luis Graville [46]		1		1									40	100	50		
José Bequet	4	1		1									50	80	200		
Nicolas Yanis [47]		1	1	2							6	4	200	400	800		
Fran^{co} Colman [48]	2	4		6									140	150			
Carlos Charlevil [49]		3															15000
Andres Lalonde	1	2		1					1		4	3	150	400	600		
Antonio Aubouchon		1									2		100	160	150		
Luis Gauvrau [50]	1	2		2							1	1	30	150	50		
José Joncan [51]	1	1		1									20	100	50		
José Gerard [52]	1	2	1	2										160			
Tomas Rouge [53]	1	2		2													1000
Josef Deselle [54]		2		2									40	180	400		
Agustin Aubouchon	4	2		5							2	3	100	200	150		
Juan Prast [55]	6	4		5							18	12	200	1000	1000	250	30000
Luis Lacomba [56]		2		2									100	150	100		
Nicolas Lachance	1	1		2										100			
Santiago Boyeu [57]	2	2		3	1								100	200			6000
Santiago Curtois [58]	4	2		3									120	200	150		
Luis Rat [59]		3											100	150	200		
Miguel Placet, Father [60]		3		1									150	110	150		
Miguel Placet, Son		1		1									30	120	100		
Juan Miel	3	1		4										60			
Ypolito Roberto [61]	3	4		5									150	250	500		
Luis Caron [62]	4	2		3									80	160	200		

STATISTICAL CENSUS OF ST. GENEVIEVE AND ITS DISTRICTS AND ITS PRODUCTS (*Continued*)

Names of Inhabitants	Numbers and Ages of Whites in Family				Free				Slaves				Wheat	Corn	To-bacco	Salt	Lead
					Mulattoes		Negroes		Mulattoes		Negroes						
	Men			Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Bushels	Bushels	Pounds	Bushels	Pounds
Pedro Rangeu [63]	2	1		3													
Juan de Guirre [64]	2	2	1	1									100	100	150		
Josef Boyeu [65]	5	1	2	1									100	130	100		
Santiago Mercier [66]		2		1									80	100	50		
Juan Portau [67]		1											40	80	100		
Carlos Henon [68]		2		3									60	200	100		
Nicolas Laplanta [69]	1	1											50	100	50		
Josef Courtois [70]	2	1		3									50	120			
Carlos Boyen [71]	2	2		3									40	100			10000
José Latoulipé [72]	1	1	1	3													
Franco Azau [73]		3															10000
Juan Lallemand [74]		2															
Franco Labreche [75]		2															6000
Juan Vinete [76]	2	2		6													
Mirél Monmirel [77]	2	1		2													
Jazmin					3		4	7					100	200	400		
Babeta					7		1	1									10000
	151	194	16	219	13		5	8	24	18	154	121	11285	23750	16480	13000*	216000

(* So in the text.)

[1] Henri Peyroux de la Coudreniere. See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 347 et seq.

[2] St. Jemme Beauvais. As to the Beauvais family, see Houck's History of Missouri, vol. i, p. 352.

[3] Francois Moreau was a son of Francois Moreau, of Beaupre, Quebec, Canada, and came to Ste. Genevieve from Kaskaskia. He married Catherine Marechal in 1767. On Novbr. 2d 1761, Francois Denis Moreau, a soldier of the company of Lusignan in Canada, died at Fort de Chartres and was buried at the St. Ann Church cemetery. He no doubt was the ancestor of this the Moreau named in this census.

[4] Antoine Aubuchon was the son of Antoine Aubuchon and Elizabeth De Launey. He married Marie Veroneau in 1766. A Joseph Aubuchon was one of the first settlers of Fort de Chartres in 1726 and the ancestor. His son Gabriel in 1765 married Angelique Pilet at Kaskaskia.

[5] Isabel Langevin. A widow Langevin lived at Prairie du Rocher in 1760. Her daughter Marie Grudet married Paul Labrosse. Also seems to have been married to Louis D'Espagne. This Isabel Langevin may be the widow of Jean Baptiste Langevin dit Baquette.

[6] Manuel Bourguinon was the son of Louis Leonard Bourguinon and Francois Thaie of New Orleans and married Genevieve Durant. Find a Digne dit Bourguinon and a Lemoine dit Bourguinon in the St. Louis Archives.

[7] Jean Fortin of the parish St. Michel of Canada was at Fort de Chartres in 1758. He was the son of Louis Fortin and Marguerite Le Blond. He married in that year Agnes Blot, daughter of Pierre Marot dit LaBonte. From Fort de Chartres he moved to Ste. Genevieve, where he resided in 1765. This Pedro no doubt was his son. A Charles Fortin who lived in St. Louis may also have been related.

[8] See ante, vol. i, page 93.

[9] Find the name of a François Paquin at New Madrid.

[10] See ante, vol. i, page 98, note 36. This Luis was no doubt a son of François.

[11] Simon Hubardeau married Genevieve Paquaine. His daughter Euphrasiene married William Morrison, son of John Morrison of Kaskaskia in 1798. Apparently his first wife died, as I find Marie Pelagie Gautier afterwards mentioned as his wife.

[12] Francois Bernier married Marie Louise L'Eveque in 1774. He was the son of Luis Bernier and Genevieve Beranger of Quebec, Canada.

[13] As to the Vallé family, see Houck's History of Missouri, vol. i, p. 349.

[14] Nicolas Boyer married Dorothe Oliviere in 1766 at Ste. Genevieve. He came over from Kaskaskia. The Boyers were among the first settlers in upper Louisiana.

[15] This Charles Peyroux married Marguerite Susanne Joult. I think he was the father of Henri, as Donna Marguerite mentions Henri M. Peyroux as her son in her will.

[16] Pierre Marcou lived in Ste. Genevieve in 1763. He was a native of Beaupre, Quebec, Canada, and a son of Noel Marcou and his wife Marguerite Belanger. In 1785 he married Agathe Marotte, daughter of Pierre Marotte, deceased, and Agnes Blot of St. Philippe. Also see vol. i, p. 104, note 7.

[17] Carlos Aime. See ante, vol. i, page 106, note 47; also p. 60, note 76. Came over from Kaskaskia. He was a voyageur, and his wife was an Indian squaw named "Anonacou."

[18] Francois Dorlac was a resident of Ste. Genevieve in 1760. His wife was Francoise Phelypeaux.

[19] See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. i, p. 366.

[20] Pierre Greneau or Grenier.

[21] Louis Bolduc was the son of Zacharie Bolduc and Jeanne Munier of parish St. Joachim, Quebec, Canada. He came to Ste. Genevieve from Kaskaskia. But see vol. i, p. 91, note 36.

[22] Find a Charles Parant at Fort de Chartres in 1748. His wife was Marie Barbe Vicomte. A Pierre Parens from Canada at Ste. Genevieve in 1782.

[23] Marie Louise Vallé, widow of Francois Leclerc. He was a native of Rouen, Normandy, France, and son of Nicolas Leclerc. She was the granddaughter of Charles Vallé, of Beauport, Quebec, Canada. See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. i, p. 350, note 33.

[24] A Pierre Moreau found on Bayou Teche in lower Louisiana, and may be a son of François Moreau of Beaupre, Canada, and who lived at Ste. Genevieve in 1767.

[25] He was an Indian interpreter. Houck's History of Missouri, vol. i, pp. 367, 382, and vol. ii, pp. 101–151.

[26] Louis Lorimier. See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. i, pp. 318, 329, 366; vol. ii, pp. 54, 74, 171, 212, et seq.

[27] Pierre Chauvin was the son of Louis Chauvin and Angelique Perthuis. He married Marie Louise Hebert in 1773.

[28] He was the son of Louis Constantinot and Angelique Milhomme of the parish of St. Augustine, Quebec, Canada. He married Susan Henn, a daughter of Andreas Henn and Marie Kerl, who had been captured by the Shawnees in Pennsylvania and adopted by them. The marriage was apparently approved by the Shawnees, who to the number of 30 attended the marriage at the church of Ste. Genevieve.

[29] Ante, vol. i, page 59, note 51.

[30] Charles Belmare came from "Yamachiche" (Yamaska), Quebec, Canada. He was the son of Charles Bellmare or Bellemart, and Josepha Carbonneau. He married Marie Françoise Tirard dit St. Jean, in 1781. He too had a son named Charles, born in 1782. See vol. i, p. 89, note 37.

[31] See vol. i, p. 60, note 77.

[32] John Davis, an early American settler, from Pennsylvania, probably a brother of Sam Davis, who lived at New Bourbon and whose daughter Ann married Jacob Gibson, son of Humphrey Gibson.

[33] Louis Griffard.

[34] A Joseph Tissereau, son of J. B. Tissereau and Marguerite Sarasin, of Montreal, Canada. In 1794 he married Elizabet Leviard. He was no doubt related to Charles. A Jean François Tisseran de Montcharvaux was Captain-Commandant of Fort de Chartres in 1753, and it may be that this Charles Tisseran is related to him.

[35] Joseph Perodot was a son of Joseph Perodot and Angelique Patrie of Montreal, Canada. He married Marie Louise DeGuire, daughter of Captain Andre DeGuire, in 1787.

[36] See vol. i, p. 90, note 22.

[37] Etienne Govreau lived in Ste. Genevieve in 1761. He married Marie Lavallée.

[38] This is probably Tougard dit Laviolette. A Catherine Tougard dit Laviolette married François Derouin in St. Louis. She came to the Spanish Illinois from Cahokia.

[39] Jean Baptiste Chatillon, who married Marie Jeanne Cousets or Corsette. He was the first settler of Carondelet, who cultivated the Prairie Catalan, adjacent to this village.

[40] The name Bois is found at Fort de Chartres in 1745.

[41] This may be a descendant of Jean Baptiste Gourier dit Champagne, a blacksmith at St. Philippe, and who was one of the first settlers of the original village of Ste. Genevieve. Houck's History of Missouri, vol. i, p. 337, note 1.

[42] Jean Baptiste Toumure, or Thaumur dit LaSource, a descendant of the Jean Baptiste Thaumur, who was at Fort de Chartres in 1726, and moved thence to Kaskaskia.

[43] Parfait Dufour. Houck's History of Missouri, vol. i, p. 368, and vol. ii, p. 52.

[44] Etienne Delinel, son of Pierre Delinel, married Charlotte LaChenay Caron in 1779. He came from Kaskaskia.

[45] Pierre LeBeau. Ante, vol. i, p. 91, note 34.

[46] Louis Gravel, came from Chateau Riches, Quebec, Canada, and was the son of Joseph Gravel. He married Louise Choret.

[47] Nicolas Janis came over from Kaskaskia. Houck's History of Missouri, vol. i, p. 353 et seq.

[48] Francois Coleman was a German, from near Wurtzburg, Bavaria, Germany. He married Therese Robinet at Ste. Genevieve, in 1774.

[49] See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. i, p. 342.

[50] Louis Govreau, son of Etienne Govreau. He married Cecile Diel in 1788.

[51] Joseph Jonka was a native of St. Thomas, Canada, and married Marguerite Frankenpin.

[52] This name found among the first settlers of Fort de Chartres and at Kaskaskia.

[53] Thomas Ruhst, son of Thomas Ruhst, married Narcisse Midose in 1788.

[54] Joseph Decelle. Houck's History of Missouri, vol. i, p. 372 et seq.

[55] Jean Baptiste Pratte in 1776 married Therese Billeron widow of Pierre Billeron. But prior to this was married to the widow Marie Ann Lalumandiere, and then he married the widow Billeron. He was a native of Montreal, Canada. The Pratte family came to Ste. Genevieve from Fort de Chartres. But see ante, vol. i, p. 60, note 66.

[56] Louis Lacombe was the son of Jean Baptiste Lacombe.

[57] Jacques Boyer.

[58] Jacques Courtois married Genevieve Hunaut and moved to St. Louis.

[59] Louis Ratte dit Labrier, probably father of the Julien Labrier, who was an important witness before Commissioner Hunt to adjust the title to lots in St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, etc. See vol. i, p. 60, note 59, and p. 98, note 30.

[60] The father, Michel Placet, married Marie Louise Lavigne, and the son Marie Louise Aubuchon, daughter of Antoine Aubuchon. These Placets may be related to Joseph DuGuet Placed, or Placit, from Trois Riviere, Canada, and who married Catherine Barrois at Fort de Chartres in 1760. They claimed land afterwards under the name of Duplace, and Dugay Duplace. Michel Placet worked on the new church of Ste. Genevieve in 1789, and for that reason he was granted a lot on Gabourie creek.

[61] As to Hypolite Robert, see post page 384, note 144.

[62] Luis Caron, or Carron, was the son of Claude Caron and Charlotte LaChenay of Kaskaskia. He married Marguerite Vallé.

[63] Pierre Rongest or Rongcot, dit Berger, was the son of Jean Baptiste Rongest and Marguerite Leclerc. He married Therese Hebert.

[64] Jean Baptiste DeGuire was the son of Capt. Andre DeGuire and married Eulalie Bernier in 1798. Another Jean Baptiste DeGuire, probably a brother of Andre, was Major of the militia in 1760.

[65] Joseph Boyer was the son of Joseph Boyer and Marie Robinette. He married Hyacintha Fortin.

[66] Jacques Mercier from Kaskaskia. A soldier named Gulliaume Mercier, "Toulouse son corps" died at Fort de Chartres in 1745. His wife, Marie Jeanne Gaussin, died in 1746. In 1726 a son of Jean Baptiste Mercier was baptized and named Jacques at Fort de Chartres — and this may be the Santiago named in the census.

[67] Jean Portais, or Porte, was the son of François Porte, and came from Montreal, Canada. He married Marguerite Chabot, daughter of Joseph Chabot and Ursule Clairmont.

[68] This is probably a descendant of François Hennet dit Sanschagrin, one of the early pioneers of the upper Mississippi and who lived at Fort de Chartres in 1754. He had a son also named François. François, senior, married Ann Chapu, a Swiss, and his son, François, junior, Marguerite Becquet.

[69] Le Sieur LaPlante is the first LaPlante I find in the Illinois country at Fort de Chartres in 1748. In the St. Ann Church records his full name is given as Rene Moret de la Plante. The Alexis LaPlante at Ste. Genevieve no doubt is related to him. This Nicolas of the census claimed land on Establishment creek. The LaPlante at New Madrid was the son of Jacques LaPlante of St. Magdaline parish, Quebec, Canada, and married Genevieve Thibault. This LaPlante came to New Madrid from Vincennes.

[70] Joseph Courtois married Marguerite Perthuis.

[71] Charles Boyer was the son of Joseph Boyer.

[72] Pierre Querez dit LaTulipe. He was a stone mason and worked on Fort Celeste at New Madrid. He came to the Illinois country from Vincennes.

[73] This is François Azor dit Breton, who discovered Mine à Breton. He was a soldier at Fort de Chartres. Houck's History of Missouri, vol. i, p. 367.

[74] Jean Baptiste Lalande was the son of Etienne Lalande. In 1770 he married Françoise Phillipeau. The family came from Kaskaskia. In 1725 I find the first Jean Baptiste Lalande in the Illinois country at Fort de Chartres. He married an Indian squaw named Catherine Sabana Kiese and "un garcon" of their marriage was baptized "avec les ceremonies ordinaire de notre mere la Ste. Eglise" in the presence of Sieur Philip Renault, Director-General of the Mines. In 1746 this Jean Baptiste was "cyndique du village." His wife was then named Charlotte Marchand.

[75] François Labreche, the son of Charles Labreche and Charlotte Fortier of the parish of St. Joachim of Montreal, Canada.

[76] This may be a son of Joseph Bignet, a soldier of Fort de Chartres.

[77] Joseph Durant dit Monmirel.

CXXIII

STATISTICAL CENSUS AND PRODUCTS OF ST. LOUIS AND ITS DISTRICTS, 1791

PAPERS FROM THE ISLAND OF CUBA

Names of Inhabitants	Numbers and Ages of Whites (Blancos in Family				Free (Libres) Mulattoes (Pardos)		Free (Libres) Negroes (Negros)		Slaves (Esclavos) Mulattoes (Pardos)		Slaves (Esclavos) Negroes (Negros)		(Trigo) Wheat	(Mahiz) Corn	(Tabaco) Tobacco	(Sal) Salt	(Plomo) Lead
	Men			Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Bushels	Bushels	Pounds	Bushels	Pounds
Dn Augustin Chouteau [1]	1	3		4							9	6					
Josef Tallon [2]		7	1	1		1				2	2	2	200	200	200		
Alexo Marie [3]	1	1	1	2							1	2	100	120			
Maria Chouteau, Widow [4]		1		1					1	2	3	3	200	200			
Maria Bisonete, Widow [5]	2	1		2						1			30	15			
Dn Silvestre Labadia [6]	2	1	2	4	2				2	1	4	3		150			
José Maria Papin [7]	3	2	1	6					2	2		4	12	50			
Dn Gaspar Robieu [8]	3	1		1								1					
Dn Benito Vazquez [9]	3	1	2	4					2	5	6	2	100				
Dn Santiago Chauvin [10]	4	1	1	4						1	1			30			
Dn Luis Dubreuil [11]	2		1	8					1	1	2	6					
Dn Antonio Reilhe [12]	1		1	3							1						
Juan Bapa Provenché [13]	3	4		3	1								80	30			
Madama de Rouen, Widow [14]	2	7		3													
Luis Laflor	1	2		2													
Carlos Simoneau [15]		1	1	2									60	50			
Antonio Vincent [16]	4	1	2	2						1	2	2					
Luis Brazeau [17]	4	1	1	4					2			2	15	100			
Juana Bisonet [18]	4			5						1	1		6	80			
Augustin Roque [19]	2	1	2	4										40			
Emilian Yosty [20]	2	1	1	1							1	1					
Luis Delorier [21]			1									1					
Juan Maria Papin [22]	2		1	4													
Lorenzo Durocher [23]	1	1		2								1					
Mada Rogoche, Widow [24]		1		1		3						1	25	30			
Juan Bapa Hortez [25]		3		4							1		50	140			

STATISTICAL CENSUS AND PRODUCTS OF ST. LOUIS AND ITS DISTRICTS, 1791 *(Continued)*

Names of Inhabitants	Numbers and Ages of Whites (Blancos) in Family				Free (Libres)				Slaves (Esclavos)				(Trigo) Wheat	(Mahiz) Corn	(Tabaco) Tobacco	(Sal) Salt	(Plomo) Lead
					Mulattoes (Pardos)		Negroes (Negros)		Mulattoes (Pardos)		Negroes (Negros)						
	Men			Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Bushels	Bushels	Pounds	Bushels	Pounds
Dn Gabriel Cerré [26]	1	10	3	4						3	26	14	300	500			
Dn Pedro Chouteau [27]	2	1	1	2	3	1			3			1					
Josef Brazeau	1		1	2					2	1	6	4	200	170			
Jacinto Sansir [28]	2	7		4					1		2	2	100	300			
Antonio Dehetre [29]	1	1	1	2													
Juan Bapa Tiron [30]	2	1		2													
Dn Santiago Clermorgan		1							1	1	5	4		600			
Madama Dupuis, Widow [31]		1		2									30	30			
José Lapierre [32]		1		2									30	50			
Nicolas Lecompte [33]	3	2	1	4								1	12	60			
José Lemoine [34]	1	2	1	1													
Pedro Gagnon		2		2													
Josef Memville [35]	1		1	3									40	70			
Josef Desotel [36]	1	1		2										20			
Luis Chevalier [37]	1	1		2					1	1				25			
Josef Sorrel [38]	1	6		4									30	50			
Josef Labroza	1		2	1		2			1		1	1		40			
Dn Antonio Reynal [39]	1	2	2	2						1	1		100	30			
Dn Carlos Sanguinet [40]	2	1	1	4					2	2				100			
Josef Rinz [41]			1														
Pedro Ricard [42]		1		3													
Pedro Chornete [43]		2		1													
Amable Guion [44]	1	2		2													
Franco Barrera [45]			1	3							1						
Juan Bapa Salé [46]		2	1	2					2			1					
Pablo Guitard	2	3	1	1									60	50			
Josef Dabadia [47]		1										1					

D^n Ventura Collett [48]		1		1	1						1						
Guillermo Lecompte		5	1	3							3	4	70				
Josef Mobidou [49]	3	6		1		1					1	2	200	100	500		
Luis Boris [50]		1	1										40	30			
Gabriel Dodier		2	1	4									40	30	150		
D^n Gregorio Sarpy		1									3	2					
Alexo Lalande		1		2													
Josef Rotard [51]		2									2	2		80			
Josef Verdon [52]		1	1														
Agustin Dodier	2	1	1	1									60	60			
Regis Vasor [53]		3		2									8				
Juan Bap^a Béquet			2										60				
Josef Boduen [54]		3		2													
José Chorrete	2	2	1	3													
Josef Liberge		2	1	2													
Josef Bachar [55]	1	4		2													
Madama Verdon	1			3					1		1		50	90			
Carlos Delisla [56]	2	1	1	5													
Juan Couns [57]		1		1													
Felipe Fain [58]	1	2										1		30			
D^n Carlos Gratiot		1		5					4	4	4	4	200	260			
Josef Hebert [59]	2	1	1	2	2	2						1					
Pedro Peri [60]			1														
Ana Campél, Widow [61]	1			4					4	1	5	3	60	200	200		
Denis Cabana [62]		2															
Juan Bap^a Lorens [63]	1	1		1							1	1	30				
Juan Bap^a Dufaut [64]	1	2		3													
Pedro Quenel [65]	2	2		2								1					
Nicolas Bochenou [66]	2	7		3						1	2	1	500	260			
Antonio Bachar		2	1	1									50	60			
D^n Carlos Tallon	3	4		2					3			1	60	70	40		
Madama Bachar, Widow [67]		2		2									45	100			
Pedro Dumont [68]	2	2	1	5										60			
Josef Hortez [69]	2	4		6									150	100			

STATISTICAL CENSUS AND PRODUCTS OF ST. LOUIS AND ITS DISTRICTS, 1791 *(Continued)*

Names of Inhabitants	Numbers and Ages of Whites (Blancos) in Family				Free (Libres) Mulattoes (Pardos)		Free (Libres) Negroes (Negros)		Slaves (Esclavos) Mulattoes (Pardos)		Slaves (Esclavos) Negroes (Negros)		(Trigo) Wheat	(Mahiz) Corn	(Tabaco) Tobacco	(Sal) Salt	(Plomo) Lead
	Men			Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Bushels	Bushels	Pounds	Bushels	Pounds
Franco Decari [70]	1	2				1											
Madama Porcelly, Widow [71]	2	2		3													
Pedro Roy [72]	1	1	2	1									60	150			
Felipe Riviera [73]	1	2		4									100	150			
Julian Roy [74]	1	4		3							2		60	40			
Luis Delisla [75]	3	2		1													
Gabriel Bequete [76]		1		1							6	5	60	200			
Gabriel Lachance [77]		2											40	30			
Joaquin Roy [78]		4		1										50			
Lucas Marly [79]	3	2	2	1													
Eugenio Alvarez [80]	1	1		4													
Josef Roy [81]	1	1		2							2	5	100	130			
Luis Barada [82]	1	1		4													
Dn Pedro Montardy	1	1	1	1									20	16			
Luis Chillere	1	1		2										20			
Josef Vge [84]	1	1		1					1		2						
Dn Pedro Devolsey [85]		1	1			2			1		1	3	60	100			
Santiago Loiselle [86]	1		1	4					1	1	2	2	300	240			
Antonio Morén [87]	4	3	1	5													
Antonio Pelletier	2	1	1	3							1	1	140	30			
Dn Luis Beletre [88]	1	3	1	6													
Juan Trudeau [89]	1	3		3							1		60	20			
Josef Tallon, Son [90]	2	3		3									20	10			
Franco Dorlac [91]	1	1		3						2	3		150	220			
Mada Lamy, Widow [92]	1	7		3						1	5	2	50	40			
Madama Brazeau, Widow [93]	1	2		4													
Luis Honore [94]	1	1		1							2	1	90				
Bapa Lacroix [95]	3	2	1	4	1								15	16	100		
Carlos Leviellé [96]							2	1									

Neptuno [97]							3	2					20	10			
Juana, Widow							3	3						20			
Fran^co^ Borrosier [98]		4	2	5									300	400	300		
Todos Santos Parent [99]		1										1	100	60	200		
Uberto Tabeau [100]		1	1	1									40	20	200		
Antonio Mariscal [101]	4	1	2	2									100	200	1000		
Pedro Couder [102]		2	1										100	92	300		
Antonio Rivera [103]	2	2	1	1									40	32	100		
Luis Reineau [104]			1										20	20			
Fran^co^ Delorier [105]		2	1	1									20	32	100		
Juan Bap^a^ Delisla [106]	3	1		5					1		2	2	100	100	100		
Jacinto Dehetre [107]	1	2		1									22	120			
Juan Bap^a^ Crelis [108]	2	1		3									20	100			
Carlos Mercier [109]	1	1		1									120	150			
Juan Bap^a^ de Cote	1	2															
Franc^o^ Mariscal [110]		1		6									20	120			
Antonio Rivera, Father	2	3	1	2									100	100			
Pedro Menar [111]	1	1		3									20	20	150		
Claudio Panton [112]		1		1													
Juan Bap^a^ Primor [113]	3	1		4									20	100			
Enrique Botelér [114]	1	1		1													
Amable Gagnier [115]	2	2	1	4									80	30			
José Calvé [116]	2	1	1										100	100	80		
Juan Bap^a^ Lachassa [117]	1	1		1										120			
José Lamere [118]	1	2		2									120	35			
Luis Dubreuil [119]	1		1	4													
Santiago Tabeau [120]		1		2									30	60	20		
Manuel Bruner [121]		1											25	100	30		
Fran^co^ Moreau [122]	3		1	4									100	108	1000		
Pedro de Vau [123]		1		1									80	100	100		
Josef Sangerman [124]		2		2									100	55			
José Boduén [125]	1	1		2													
Fran^co^ Charleville [126]	4	1		3									50	30			
	36	41	14	62					1		2	3	1827	2404	3680		

SETTLEMENT OF CARONDELET

Names of Inhabitants	Numbers and Ages of Whites in Family				Slaves				Free				Wheat	Corn	To-bacco	Salt	Lead
					Mulattoes		Negroes		Mulattoes		Negroes		Bushels	Bushels	Pounds	Bushels	Pounds
	Men			Men	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women					
Dn Clemente Delor [137]	1	1	1	4							1		50				
Carlos Himan [138]		2	1	5									50	60			
Josef Laimé [129]	1	1		3									100	30			
Juan Bapa Gamache [130]		1	1										100	25			
Angela Martin, Widow [131]		2		1													
Claudio Tinon [132]	3		1	1													
Alexo Loiseille [133]	2	1		4									40				
Julian Luis Courtois [134]	1	2		4									100	40			
Pedro Loiseille			1	3									140	100			
Carlos Roy [135]	1	1		4									90	50			
José Mote [136]	2		1										100	60			
Carlos Vallé [137]		1		1										60			
Carlos Blay [138]		1		3									50	50			
Luisa Denoyé, Widow [139]	2	2		1									30	50			
Julian Chouquet [140]	3	1		4													
Luis Honoré [141]	2	1		4									60	50			
Amable Chastran [142]	1	1		2													
Luis Roberto [143]	1	1	1	1								1	77				
Ypolito Robér [144]		2		1													
Gabriel Constante [145]	3		1	4									50	80			
Juan Bapa Daufin [146]	2	1		1									250	100			
Juan Bapa Gamache [147]	1	1		1									40	60			
Luis Menar [148]	2	3	1	1								1	42	30			
Cristobal Aleman [149]	2	3	1	1									65				
Juan Pierre	1	1		1									60				
Ricar Ynglés [150]		1											50	40			
Franco Garzon		1		1									35	12			
Antonio Belle		1		2									80	100			
Antonio Donné		3												300			
Josef Cabasier [151]		3											26	30			
	31	39	10	58							1	2	1735	1387			

[1] As to Auguste Chouteau see Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 4, etc.

[2] Joseph Michel dit Taillon, or Tayon, married Marie Louise Bosset. Came from Fort de Chartres in 1764 to St. Louis, and died there at the age of 92 years in 1807. He was a miller and owned the first mill of St. Louis. His son Joseph Tayon, junior, married Marie Berger, a daughter of one of the early traders of St. Louis.

[3] Full name Michel Alexis Marie. His mother was Reine Marie née Guilgaut. He married Rose DeLor and died in 1797 at the age of 60 years.

[4] See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 4.

[5] Marie Catharine Marcheteau dit DesNoyer, widow of Francois Bissonette.

[6] Married Pelagie Chouteau. Died June 19, 1794. Was a merchant and ran boats between St. Louis and New Orleans. See ante, vol. i, p. 95, note 5.

[7] See ante, vol. i, p. 192, note 62.

[8] Dit European. Married Marianne Conde, né de la Ferne, widow of Dr. Auguste Conde, and from St. Louis moved to St. Charles.

[9] Ante, vol. i, p. 54, note 3.

[10] Came to St. Louis in about 1764. He was the son of Jacques Chauvin, dit Charleville, who came to Kaskaskia from Canada and where he married Anne Bonacceuil. In St. Louis Jacques Chauvin, jun., married Marie Louise Michel (Tayon). He died in 1826.

[11] Louis Chauvet Dubreuil came to St. Louis in 1765. Here he married Susanne Santous, or Saintous. He died in 1794, leaving nine children. Another Louis Dubreuil married Marianne Laroche, but cannot say whether he was related to Louis Chauvet Dubreuil.

[12] Married Estella Camp, daughter of the Rev. Ichabod and Mrs. Ann Camp. Her father, the Rev. Ichabod Camp, was killed by his son-in-law when intoxicated at Kaskaskia, and after that Mrs. Camp moved to St. Louis. Reilhe was one of the prominent early merchants of St. Louis. One of his daughters married Alexander McNair, first Governor of Missouri. Reilhe died at the age of 67 in St. Louis in 1802.

[13] Married the widow of Charles Bissette, who was killed by the Indians in the attack on St. Louis in 1781.

[14] Tougard dit Deruin or De Rouen, was the widow of François Deruin. She came to St. Louis from Kaskaskia. A land claim in her name there was the old be forged.

[15] Came to St. Louis from Ste. Genevieve, where he married Marie Picard. A Francois Simoneau lived at Ste. Genevieve in 1772. Marie Marthe Simoneau married François Chauvin there, but the name is also given as Marie Marthe Desmoulin in the church records.

[16] Antoine Vincent Bouis, usually known as Antoine Vincent, one of the early prominent residents and business men of St. Louis. He was a native of Genoa, Italy. In 1782 he married Marie Madaline Robert. He had a family of six sons and four daughters. Died in 1812 and his wife in 1834. One of his sons, Pascal Vincent Bouis, was appointed by President Jefferson in 1804 as a cadet to West Point and graduated there.

[17] The Brazeau family came to St. Louis from Kaskaskia. See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 53.

[18] Louis and François Bissonette were brother and early settlers of St. Louis. Louis died in 1785 and François in 1787. This "Juana" may be Jean Bisonette, and came over from Cahokia and no doubt related to them. They were Canadians.

[19] Augustin Roque married Angelique Jourdain dit Labrosse. He came to St. Louis from Kaskaskia. Had a land claim there near "Pioria."

[20] A native of Italy. Came to St. Louis as a Spanish soldier. Married Theodiste Durand. He died in 1812 and his wife in 1824. His eldest son, François Yosti, moved to St. Charles, where he married Emily Morrison. He was one of the pioneers in the Sante Fé trade.

[21] Louis DeLorier or DeLaurier, or Merlet dit DeLorier, was a native of Bas Poitou, diocese of Luçon, France. A Louis DeLaurier at Vincennes on or before 1783, claimed land on the Wabash below Racoon creek.

[22] Jean Marie Papin, dit Lachance. See vol. i, p. 191, note 29.

[23] A Laurent DeRocher had a settlement right on the Dardenne. A DeRoche de Beaumont at Fort de Chartres in 1758.

[24] Marie Josepha Pinçonneau dit Rigauche. See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 275.

[25] Ante, vol. i, p. 190, note 27, and p. 195, note 122.

[26] As to Gabriel Cerre, see Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, pp. 47, 74, etc.

[27] One of the most distinguished citizens of Spanish St. Louis. See Houck's History of St. Louis, vol. ii, p. 8, etc.

[28] Hyacinthe St. Cyr came to St. Louis from Cahokia in 1780, unmarried. From his will deposited there it appears that there he bequeathed half his property to the poor and the other half to the church. He was a native of Canada, and born near Quebec. In St. Louis in 1883 he married Helene Hebert. He died at the age of 80 at Florissant. He was father of 15 children. One of his daughters married Nicolas Boilvin and another William Christy. He was prominent in all public enterprises in colonial St. Louis, a merchant, mill owner, and builder of stone houses. Lived for a time at St. Charles.

[29] Antoine DesHetre, came to St. Louis from Cahokia. As to the DesHetre family, see Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 67. This Antoine married Marie Kiercereau in 1788 and died in 1798.

[30] Jean Baptiste Tison was a native of France. He was a brother of Albert Tison, who for a time was secretary of DeLassus and married Marie Louise LeBeaume, eldest daughter of Louis LeBeaume. Nothing more is known of this Jean Baptiste, except that he assigned a grant of 7,056 arpents on Salt river to Louis LeBeaume, the father-in-law of Albert. In his petition in 1799 he says that he has lived in the province over 15 years and that he has a "numerous family, composed of eight children," and to which DeLassus responded favorably, stating that it was "notorious that the petitioner possesses more than the means necessary to obtain the concession."

[31] Paul Dupuis is the only person named Dupuis in the St. Louis Archives. He was married to a colored woman named Françoise DeVolsay, and this may be the "Madame Dupuis, widow" referred to in the census. The name DeVolsay also would suggest that perhaps she was a natural daughter of François deVolsay.

[32] Joseph LaPierre married Rosalie Oliviere. Trudeau granted him and Joseph Aubuchon an island in the Missouri river as a pasture. It seems that LaPierre came over to the Spanish Illinois from Cahokia.

[33] This is probably Nicolas Hebert dit Lecompte.

[34] Joseph LeMoine dit Bourguigon. One LaMoine resided at Fort de Chartres in 1747.

[35] Joseph Mainville.

[36] Joseph DeSantel married Therese Mainville, daughter of Joseph Mainville dit Deschenes and his wife, Anne Chancellier.

[37] Louis Chevalier, a militia officer and under Pourée in the expedition which resulted in the capture of Fort St. Joseph. He was perhaps a descendant of Andre Chevalier, who in 1750 was royal storekeeper at Fort de Chartres.

Louis Chevalier married Helen Tayon, sister of Carlos Tayon, who was Lieutenant in the expedition to St. Joseph. This is the same as "Don Luis Chancelier" in vol. i, page 183.

[38] A descendant of Antoine Sorel, who in 1726 lived at Fort de Chartres and died there in 1747 at the age of 60 years. A Jos. Sorrel afterwards found on the Teche in Attakapas, lower Louisiana, and may be the one named here.

[39] Dr. Antoine Reynalo. See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 27, etc.

[40] See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 53, etc.

[41] This name may be Joseph Ring, subsequently found on the Teche in the Attakapas country. A Joseph Riend made a claim to land for militia service on White river in the Vincennes district.

[42] Came from Kaskaskia, where he owned a house and lot and from St. Louis it seems moved to the Attakapas.

[43] Pierre Choret married Marie Josephine Kiercereau in 1786. She was the daughter of Rene Kiercereau, son of Gregoire Kiercereau, sen., a native of Brittany and who came to Cahokia in 1740. See vol. i, p. 105, note 20.

[44] Amable Guion married Reine Felicite Robert. He was the son of Amable Guion, who was murdered by the Indians in 1780, and married to Margarete Blondeau. His widow married William Hebert dit LeCompte.

[45] François Barrière, in New Orleans married Genevieve Catoize, widow of William Paille, and afterwards they separated by mutual agreement, "being absolutely unable to reside together." He was a baker.

[46] Jean Baptiste Salle dit Lajoie married Marie Rose Vidalpando, a native of Taos, New Mexico. Her parents were killed by the Comanches and she carried off by them. She came to St. Louis in 1770, and died there in 1830.

[47] Joseph Labbadie dit St. Pierre, was one of the first settlers of St. Louis. He moved to Florissant afterwards.

[48] Bonaventura Collel, a native of Barcelona, Spain. In St. Louis married a daughter of Dr. Conde, but it was discovered that he had a wife living in Spain and he then absconded. Afterward she married Patrick Lee.

[49] Joseph Robidoux, ante, vol. i, p. 194, note 104.

[50] Louis Boury or Bouri, dit Grand Louis, a rope maker.

[51] Jos. Motard. See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 29.

[52] Married Victor Richelet. She lost land now in the heart of St. Louis by failure to keep up the common fences. See Houck's History of St. Louis, vol. ii, p. 200. Died in 1796.

[53] Regis Vasseur married Françoise Guitard dit LaGrandeur. A Jos. Vasseur was also a resident of St. Louis. These Vasseurs came from Cahokia. A judgment was obtained against a Jacques Vasseur in the Cahokia court in 1783 by one Antonie Harmand for 150 livres payable "in peltries."

[54] Jos. Bodoin, dit L'Habitant.

[55] This is the Joseph Vasseur referred to in note 53, ante.

[56] Charles Bienvenu dit De Lisle married Isabella Lalande. He came over from the east side of the river. The Bienvenus were a large and influential family in the American bottom and favored the Americans.

[57] This Couns, evidently a German by the name of "Kuntz," had a lot in St. Louis at that time which he sold to Sam. Solomon after the cession.

[58] Philip Fine. See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 284.

[59] Joseph Hebert dit Lecompte. Several persons of this name found in the Archives. One Joseph Hebert married Agnes Philipe or Philipot. Another Joseph Herbert married Victoire Alvarez Hortiz. A Joseph Hebert dit Lecompte was the natural son of William Hebert. He died January 28,

1801, and at the time of his death was a widower. His wife was Charlotte Larose or Laroche.

[60] Or Pierre Perry or Pery dit LaPierre. He was an old French soldier and died at the age of 80 years in 1798 in St. Louis.

[61] The widow of Ichabod Camp. See ante, p. 378, note 12.

[62] Cannot identify the name, which may stand for J. P. Cabanne.

[63] See ante, vol. i, p. 194, note 109.

[64] Jean Baptiste Dufaut dit Benony married Marianne Gerome Rouisselet, widow of Louis Laroche.

[65] Pierre Quesnal dit Lafleur married Susan Poupart. He died in 1798. This Pierre in 1784 lived at Cahokia, where in 1784 he had a lawsuit with Jos. Bisonette concerning a pig that had passed through Quesnal's defective fence and was killed by the grain in the field. The pig was valued at 100 livres and the court condemned Quesnal "to return a pig like Bissonette's." Alvord's Ills. Hist. Coll., vol. ii, p. 185. He owned a grant of 400 acres near Cahokia. No doubt a descendant of Dominique Quesnal, who resided at Fort de Chartres in 1721, one of the first pioneers of the Mississippi valley.

[66] This family came to St. Louis from Fort de Chartres. The first Nicolas Beaugenou was a soldier there, "a soldat de la compagnie de Mimbret," and married Marianne Henrion. He died in St. Louis in 1770. His son Nicolas was born at Fort de Chartres in 1747 and baptized there, so also his daughter Marie Joseph in 1751. Nicolas, junior, dit Fifi, married Catharine Gravelle in 1775. She died in 1795 and he died at Florissant at the age of 85 in 1726. His sister Marie Joseph married Touissant Hunant, in 1766, and is the first marriage recorded in St. Louis.

[67] Isabella Bissette Vachard, widow of Antoine Vachard dit L'Ardoise. She died in St. Louis in 1797. Came to St. Louis from Fort de Chartres with her brother Guillaume Bissette. The Bissettes were among the first residents of Fort de Chartres and came there from Montreal, Canada.

[68] Pierre Gueret, or Guerrette, dit Dumont, came to St. Louis from Kaskaskia. He married Pelagie Miot there. He claimed land west of Kaskaskia at the Batture DePierre.

[69] Married Margaret Marianne Becquet.

[70] Find the names of Gabriel and Joseph Descary in the St. Louis Archives and to whom this Francisco may be related. Appear to be connected with the Marcheteaus. But the name stands for DeQuerigoust, abbreviated to DeQuary or Descary. Think that this Francisco and Joseph and Gabriel Descary, also names found in the Archives, were the sons of Constantine de Querigoust dit Felie or Felix, who married Marie Angelique Metivier. After her death she married Louis Marcheteau dit Des Noyer. A Jean Baptiste DeQuary was one of the *couriers des bois* to whom DeLassus granted 800 arpents of land 65 miles from St. Louis without petition in that behalf, and which he afterwards transferred to St. Vrain, a brother of DeLassus.

[71] The widow of Jean P. Pourcelli dit Provencal, a native of Provence, France, Margaret Barada. He married her at Vincennes. Pourcelly first came to the Spanish Illinois with British goods from Vincennes, engaged in a clandestine smuggling trade, with Calvé and LaCroix, who also at the time were in the British service. In 1784 he settled in St. Louis. He died in 1789.

[72] Pierre Roy dit Cadien was from Kaskaskia. He married Jeanne Lalande there, and she became insane. In 1765 he lived in Ste. Genevieve, and from there he came to St. Louis, where he claimed 40 arpents of land near town. Pierre Roy, junior, was his son. The name Roy and LeRoy quite common in the Illinois country and Canada.

[73] Ante, vol. i, p. 58, note 31.

[74] In 1801 Julien Roy, senior and junior, were residents of Portage des

Sioux. Julien, senior, first married Marie Louise Cotê, and after her death Reine Guilgaut, widow of Alexis Marie.

[75] Louis Bienvenu dit DeLisle married Catharine Les Bois.

[76] Gabriel Becquet dit Gauche Becquet, son of Jean Baptist Becquet, married Marie Louise St. François.

[77] Gabriel Caillot dit Lachance married Genevieve Chauvin dit Charleville. See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. i, p. 366, note 59. He was the son of Nicolas.

[78] He married Veronica Guitard.

[79] May have been related to Jean Baptiste Marly, sen., who died in St. Louis at the age of 61 in 1797.

[80] Married Josephine Crepeau, but see See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 21.

[81] May be the same Jos. Roy who in 1779 at Grand Makokite made a note to David McCrae & Co. for 2093 livres five sols payable "in bear skins and pelteries." See Alvord's Ills. Hist. Coll., vol. ii, p. 491. His wife was Josette Cailloux.

[82] Louis Barada dit Breda, married Marie Becquet, widow Laroche. He was a butcher, and from St. Louis moved to St. Charles, where he built a mill. Came to St. Louis from Vincennes. See vol. i, p. 196, note 128.

[83] Ante, vol. i, p. 183, note 2.

[84] Joseph Huge. See ante, vol. i, p. 103, note 2.

[85] Pedro François de Volsay, married Elizabeth Coulon de Villiers. See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 13, 17. Had a mulatto daughter named Françoise. Ante, note 31.

[86] This must be Joseph Loisel, who died in St. Louis in 1801 at the age of 80 years. He married Margarete Vasseur, probably a sister of Regis Vasseur. We find a Regis Loisel and perhaps he was so named for Regis Vasseur. He came from Kaskaskia to St. Louis. Touissant Loisel or de Loisels was among the first residents of Fort de Chartres and died there in 1746.

[87] Antonio Morin married Pelagie Pelletier dit Antaya, the Indian name of the Pelletier family.

[88] Louis Picote de Belestre. See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 17. See ante, vol. i, p. 104, note 13.

[89] Jean Baptiste Trudeau married Madeline Roy. He was a school teacher.

[90] Joseph Tayon. Ante, note 2.

[91] Francois Dorlac, came from Ste. Genevieve in 1760. His wife was Françoise Philipeaux. He had a grant on the Barriere des Noyer.

[92] Therese Celeste Barrois first married François Duchouquette, and after his death Michel Lamy at Ste. Genevieve in 1776. From Ste. Genevieve he moved to St. Louis, where he died in 1784. His wife died in 1820. Her only daughter married the only son of Gabriel Cerré, Pascal Leon Cerré. The Barrois family settled in Fort de Chartres about 1730.

[93] This is probably Marie Therese Bienvenu dit De Lisle, widow of Jos. Brazeau, sen., who was killed by the Indians on the Kaskaskia river in 1779. After his death she came to St. Louis and died there in 1787.

[94] Louis Honore Teason. Ante, vol. i, p. 189, note 5.

[95] Jean Baptiste Hubert dit Lacroix or Grand Père.

[96] Charles Renou or Renon dit Leveille, a colored man.

[97] Jos. Neptune, a sailor, died in St. Louis at the age of 92 years in 1801. Take it that the name of Neptune was a dit.

[98] François Dunegant dit Beaurosier. See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 67.

[99] Touissant Parent, no doubt came from Vincennes, where a Joachim Parant or Parent resided on Catheliuette prairie. A Charles Parant at Fort de Chartres in 1742. His wife was Marie Barbe LaViconte.

[100] Hubert Tabeau or Thibault came from Cahokia, where one Alexis Tabeau died in about 1784. Family came from Lachine, Canada.

[101] Antoine Marechal married Catharine Tabeau. *His sister Catherine* married François Moreau. Nicolas Marechal was his father, and a native of Verdun, France, and came as a soldier to Fort de Chartres and married there a half blood Indian woman named Marie Jeanne Isleret. He moved from there to the west side of the river with his family of eight children in 1765.

[102] Pedro Couder, or Coudaire, came to St. Louis from Vincennes. He was a native of Provence, France. Died in St. Louis in 1802 at the age of 70 years.

[103] As to Antoine Riviére dit Baccane, see Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 9, and ante, vol. i, p. 58, note 31.

[104] Louis Reineau, or Renaud, or Reno.

[105] François de Lorier or DeLorie, from Kaskaskia, where he served in the militia and received a grant of land.

[106] Jean Baptiste Bienvenu dit DeLisle from Kaskaskia.

[107] Hyacinthe DesHetre came over from Cahokia.

[108] Jean Baptiste Creely, or Creliz, came from Kaskaskia. His daughter married Gabriel Aubuchon.

[109] The Mercier family was among the first to settle at Fort de Chartres. A Jean Baptiste Mercier lived there in 1726.

[110] He was a son of Nicolas Marechal and married Marie Therese Riviére, daughter of Philip Riviére dit Baccane in 1770.

[111] Pierre Antoine Menard.

[112] Claude Panneton, or Panton, or Pantout, married Felicité Vial, daughter of Pierre Vial dit Manitou, who opened the road from Santa Fé to St. Louis.

[113] Jean Baptiste Primeau.

[114] May be Henry Butler. But find the name of one Jacques Bouthiellet, and this may be the name intended.

[115] Perhaps related to Louis Gagnier dit Belle Avance, who received the seigneury of LaFrenage in Canada.

[116] As to Jos. Calvé, see Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, pp. 3, 35, 40, etc.

[117] Jean Baptiste Lachasse married Victoire La Bonne.

[118] Jos. Rapieux dit Lamaire.

[119] Louis Chauvet DuBreuil, a native of Rochelle, France. Came to St. Louis from Fort de Chartres in 1765, and in 1772 married Susanne Saintous. He died in 1794. Think that Louis Dubreuil who married Marianne Laroche was his son. Both the Dubreuils were traders. But see ante, note 11.

[120] Jacques Tabeau married Susanne Jarret.

[121] This would seem the name of German, perhaps Michael Bruner.

[122] François Moreau. He married a daughter of Nicolas Marechal in 1765.

[123] Pierre Devot or Devaux.

[124] Another German name.

[125] Jos. Bodoin.

[126] François Chauvin dit Charleville, married Françoise Brazeau. Came from Kaskaskia.

[127] From the St. Anne Church records of Fort de Chartres it appears that Clement DeLor was a son of Gabriel DeLor and his wife de la Vaure, and that in 1760 he married Catharine Morin, a daughter of Captain Morin of the

militia and his wife Madaline Barrois, and who after his death married Robineau de Portneuf. It is manifest from those record entries that DeLor occupied a high social position as his name appears with the name of de Villiers, Rocheblave, de Belestre, de Girardo, de Berqueville, Sieur de Portneuf, and others.

[128] Perhaps a relative of Joseph Hymen of Kaskaskia. A James Hymun on Cole's creek west of Pearl river in the Mississippi territory afterwards and a John Hyman on the Arkansas.

[129] Joseph L'Aime, or may be Lemay, a Kaskaskia family.

[130] See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 65, note 134.

[131] Widow of Pierre Martin dit Ladouceur. Her maiden name was Angelique Bissonnet.

[132] Claude Tinon, was a native of Toulon, a soldier at Fort de Chartres. He was the son of François Tinon and Marie du Buisson. In 1764 he married Marie Joseph Quebedau dit Espagnol, widow of Alexander Thomas, a shoemaker and who was corporal in the garrison. He came to St. Louis with St. Ange when Fort de Chartres was surrendered to the English.

[133] A Toussaint Loisel at Fort de Chartres in 1721. See ante, note 86.

[134] In 1770 at Ste. Genevieve married Genevieve Hunaut. He died at the age of 71 in 1815. He was the son of Joseph Courtois and Marguerite Perthuis.

[135] Carlos Roy married Louise Dodier.

[136] Joseph Motier dit Rondin, married Felicité Rolet.

[137] Carlos Vallé married Margaret Cardinal. From the Cahokia records it appears that he was a "hunter."

[138] Came from Kaskaskia and probably related to Jos. Blay, a resident there.

[139] Marcheteau dit DesNoyer.

[140] No doubt came from Ste. Genevieve to Carondelet, but originally crossed over to that place from Fort de Chartres. A Jos. Chouquet was a resident of Fort de Chartres in 1748. This name also was written DuChouquette. Julian DuChouquette was a captain of the militia and originally owned property at the forks of the Des Peres and the Mississippi. Pierre deLor married Sophie Chouquet and another daughter, Marie, married Peter Schultz.

[141] Louis Honore Tesson married Marie Duchouquette and after her death, Therese Crely. He was a son of Louis Honore Tesson, senior, who came from Fort de Chartres to St. Louis. Ante, vol. i, p. 189, note 5.

[142] Came to Carondelet from Cahokia. A Chartran was a witness at the marriage of Claude Tinon at Fort de Chartres. The Chartran family came to the Illinois country from Montreal.

[143] Louis Robert was born at Fort de Chartres in 1746 and married Marie Magdalena Kierçereaux. He was the son of Louis Robert who married Magdalena Mercier at Fort de Chartres in 1745 and came from Canada. He died in St. Louis in 1788 at the age of 80 years.

[144] Hypolite Robert lived at Ste. Genevieve. He was interested in mining. In Ste. Genevieve he married Marie Ann Boyer. One of his sons, Jean, married Appoline Couset, another son, Paul, married Hyacinthe Roussin, another, Charles, married Jean Felicete Duclos, and another, Louis, died in Ste. Genevieve in 1784. He was a son of Louis Robert of Fort de Chartres.

[145] Gabriel Constant dit Laramie came from Vincennes. He had a son also named Gabriel. He was probably a son of Jean Baptiste Constant, who came to Vincennes from Ouiattonon and was a trader.

[146] Jean Baptiste Dauphin had a land claim on Fee-Fee, and lived at Portage des Sioux.

[147] See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 65.

---

[148] Louis Menard, married Catharine Dufour. A Louis Menard who came from Kaskaskia lived in Ste. Genevieve in 1782 and his wife was Theodiste Loisel. He had a son named Joseph. This Louis Menard may have been his son or a relative.

[149] The name Allemond found in Kaskaskia. The name Alman occurs in lower Louisiana.

[150] Richard English.

[151] Perhaps the son of Louis Cabaziere and Victoire Daumé of Ste. Genevieve. Louis Cabaziere was the first notary of that place.

CXXIV

INHABITANTS FROM THE MARAMEC DOWN TO PLATIN CREEK

Names of Inhabitants	Numbers and Ages of Whites in Family				Free				Slaves				Wheat	Corn	Tobacco	Salt	Lead
					Mulattoes		Negroes		Mulattoes		Negroes						
	Men			Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Bushels	Bushels	Pounds	Bushels	Pounds
Tomas Tiler [1]		3									1			400			
Cristopher Shuits [2]	3	1		3										300	500		
James Head [3]	1	1		5										150	100		
Roberto Oéns [4]	3		1	2									100	400			
Jesse [5]		1		3										120			
Tomas Sonche		1		3										80	120		
Jocsmubs	1	1	1	3										150			
Johntfs Doulyn [6]	4	2		2										200	500		
William Louise [7]		2		1										60	80		
Johnst Neibour [8]		1												40	50		
	12	13	2	22							1		100	1900	1350		

---

[1] The name Thomas Tyler appears on the Maramec in 1774, but he evidently resided then at Kaskaskia, because in 1779 he was appointed as one of the American appraisers to fix the value of a boat which had been seized by the Spanish authorities at Ste. Genevieve. Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 344. He bought the Hildebrand place on the Maramec in 1779 and lived on this stream for a number of years. In 1791 he sold his farm to Clamorgua. He also made claim to land in the Grand Prairie of St. Louis.

[2] Christopher Schultz married Marie Rosa Choquette in 1803.

[3] James Head came over from Kaskaskia, where he had served in the militia prior to 1790.

[4] As to Robert Owens, see Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 74.

[5] This is probably Jesse Cain or Keyne, who lived on the Maramec and sold his claim to Owens.

[6] John Dowlin.

[7] William Lewis.

[8] John Neybour (Neubauer), a German.

CXXV

STATISTICAL CENSUS OF SAN CARLOS DEL MISURY AND PRODUCTS

PAPERS FROM THE ISLAND OF CUBA

Names of Inhabitants	Numbers and Ages of Whites in Family				Slaves				Free				Wheat	Corn	To-bacco	Salt	Lead
					Mulattoes		Negroes		Mulattoes		Negroes						
	Men			Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Bushels	Bushels	Pounds	Bushels	Pounds
Dⁿ Luis Blanchete [1]	1	4	1	1									200	100	80		
Dⁿ Juan Martiny [2]		2	1	2						1							
Simon Cousote [3]		1		6									60	40	50		
Josef Cornoye [4]		2												50	80		
Antonio Lamarcha [5]	2	3	1	1	1								190	100			
Miguel Clement [6]	4	2		3									80	50			
José Sinnande [7]		2	1										60	100	200		
Alexos Cote [8]	2		1	4										40	250		
Antonio Gantier [9]	1	3		2									200	150	60		
Juan Bapª Bruxieras [10]		2		3	1								60	50			
Estavan Bernardo [11]		[illegible]	1	2		1								100	400		
Nicolas Fail [12]		3		1									100	100			
Urbino Lafranchise [13]	1	3		2									80	100	50		
José Denoyer [14]	3	1		3	1								80	90	60		
Alexos Vallé [15]			1										40	50	800		
Juan Bapª Beauchamp [16]	1	2		2									100	100			
Carlos Vallé	3		1	2									250	100	80		
Carlos Cardinal [17]		2		2									80	100	40		
Ysidro Savoya [18]		3		2									30	50	30		
Juan Bapª Savoya [19]		3		2									300	200	300		
Pedro Ybol [20]			1										50	20	100		
Juan Bapª Langevin [21]		2	1	1									100	100	80		
Mariana Quebec, Widow	1			1													
Josef Langlois [22]		3	1	1									80	100	30		
Josef Chartran [23]		1	1	1									100	150	250		
Pedro Bisonet [24]	2	1		3									30	50	100		
Tomas Ubelde [25]		2			1	1											

Josef Tibeau[26]		1	1	2											150		
Juan Bap^a Senecal[27]		1		1													
Juan Bap^a Belan[28]	1	4		2									150	200	150		
Santiago Mariscal[29]	4	2	1	1									50	40	50		
Pedro Levau[30]		1	1										20		60		
Luis Bertelet[31]	3	1		1													
Gabriel Metode[32]		2	1	1									200	150			
Pedro Troge[33]		1		1		1							40	80	20		
Lorenzo Nichon[34]	1	1				1							150	100			
Pedro Roy	5		1	3													
Gregorio Tercero[35]	2	1		3									150	160			
Maturin Bauvais[36]			1										40	50			
Luis Buol[37]	1		1	2									50	60	150		
Fran^{co} Faustin[38]		2		3									50	80	60		
Nicolas Couns[39]		1															
Estevan Pepin[40]		3		2									100	150			
Jose Rival[41]		1	1												400		
Juan Proveaux[42]	1	1															
Juan Bap^a Petit[43]		1	2										50	80	100		
Juan Bap^a Gresard[44]	2	1	1										100	100	100		
Juan Vallé		1		4													
Eustichio Lacomba[45]		1	2												300		
Nicolas Royer[46]	2	1		1													
Luis Ono[47]	1	1		5									40	20	80		
Fran^{co} Malvan[48]	3	1		2										80	250		
Clemente Nesty	1	1	1										90	150	300		
Alexos Duville	3	2		1									25	30	50		
Fran^{co} Grenier[49]		1													400		
Luis Genetau		3	1											80	200		
	51	86	27	82	4	4				1			3575	3700	5860		

[1] Louis Blanchette. Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 80.

[2] Jean Baptiste Martigny came to St. Louis from Kaskaskia. Probably a descendant of Jean Baptiste Martigny, who resided at Fort de Chartres in 1744 and who was a native of the parish of Varenne, Quebec, Canada. The name is also given as Jean Baptiste Lemoine de Martigny. He was a son of Sieur Jacque Lemoine de Martigny and Angelique Juilliet and in 1745 married at Fort de Chartres Marie Hebert, widow of Hyacinthe St. Cyr, daughter of Sieur Ignace Hebert, Captain of the militia, and Helene Dany or Danis. In 1746 they had twins "deux enfans né du mesme jours," one of which was named Helen and the other Elizabeth.

[3] Simon Coussot married Marie Therese Dodier. A François Coussot at Fort de Chartres in 1752. His wife was Madeline Kierceraux.

[4] Joseph Corneau, or Cornos, or Cornoye. It may be that this is Joseph Lemoine Martigny, because a François Martigny was called Corneau. The name Joseph L. Martigny disappears from the St. Louis Archives after 1789.

[5] Antoine LaMarche from Cahokia. He was the son of Antoine LaMarche of Montreal, Canada. Alvord's Ills. Hist. Coll., vol. ii, p. 626. In 1783 he was Justice of the Peace at Cahokia and in 1785 married Marie, daughter of J. B. Becquet. In 1789 he was arrested for a debt at the suit of François Chevalier. Afterwards he claimed 750 arpents of land on LaMarche, or Spencer creek, in the St. Charles district.

[6] In 1721 a François Clement was a sergeant "de la brigade des Mineurs" at Fort de Chartres and no doubt was one of the first to work in the mines on the Maramec, in what is now Washington county, Missouri. In this year he married Agnes Anlar, or Aular. This Miguel may be a descendant.

[7] Joseph Sumande, a Canadian.

[8] Alexis Coté came to St. Louis from Fort de Chartres in 1764. He was born in 1740. Married a daughter of Gabriel Dodier, junior. See ante, vol. i, p. 96, note 9.

[9] Antoine Gautier.

[10] Jean Baptiste Brugiere, or Brucieres dit Belair, married Marie Angelique Guitard.

[11] Etienne Bernard dit Lagace, member of the Vincennes family of that name. Etienne claimed a concession in the lower field of St. Charles and on the Dardenne, and which he sold to Madame Labbadie.

[12] Nicolas Fail, or Fay, married Marie Pinot, widow of Jean B. Deschamp.

[13] Madame LaFranchaise owned a lot in St. Charles, according to Hunt's Minutes. She had a son named Antoine. This Urbino no doubt was related to her, either her husband, or a son.

[14] Joseph Marcheteau dit DesNoyer. Three brothers Marcheteau came from Cahokia to St. Louis, named respectively Joseph, Francois, and Louis. There were two Joseph Marcheteaus. This is Joseph Marcheteau the son of François Marcheteau, who married Ursula Cardinal in 1779. See vol. i, p. 57, note 12.

[15] Does not seem related to the Ste. Genevieve family.

[16] Jean Baptiste Beauchamp dit Bochant married Marie Louise Deschamp, widow of Louis Chevalier of St. Louis. He claimed 240 arpents of land on the Dardenne, which he sold to James Morrison, the St. Charles merchant. A Jean Baptiste Beauchamp in 1795 was at St. Genevieve. He was a native of Montreal, Canada, and the son of Jean Beauchamp and Marie Gibault. He married Barbe LaPlante, may be the same person.

[17] He married Henrietta Langevin, daughter of Jean Baptiste Langevin, and was a brother-in-law of Jos. Quebec, who also married a Langevin. In 1795 cultivated a field in the upper prairie. He also had a claim of 60 arpents of land which he transferred to François Duquette. Bertrand Cardinal, who

was one of the pioneers at Fort de Chartres in 1721 no doubt was the ancestor of this Cardinal and the family on the upper Mississippi. A Charles Cardinal was a soldier in Capt. Craig's company and in service at St. Charles, although the company came from the Cape Girardeau district and may have enlisted there.

[18] Isidore Savoy, or Savoie, dit Acadien, came to St. Charles from Cahokia. In 1789 Savoy and his wife Catherine Pencrasse in the Cahokia court sued one Jean Baptiste Labecasse for violating the said Catherine, and on a full hearing the court non-suited the plaintiffs, because Catherine had two years before exposed herself "to being forced" and now "voluntarily exposed herself again," but the court decreed that Labecasse should not in future "make an attempt on the chastity of the said Pencrasse," and ordered him to be put in irons for 24 hours and "fed on bread and water." See Alvord's Ills. Hist. Coll., vol. ii, p. 397. This Savoy cultivated fields both in the lower and upper field of St. Charles.

[19] Jean Baptiste Savoy dit Acadien, married Louise de la Durantaye, widow of Jean Vincent Daunis, dit St. Vincent.

[20] This name may possibly be Pedro Pujol.

[21] Jean Baptiste Langevin dit Baguette. His wife after his death married Etienne Bernard. She had two daughters. See ante, note 17. Marianna Quebec, née Langevin.

[22] This probably is the Joseph Langlois mentioned in the Cahokia records, who was in debt to Charles Sanguinette in 447½ pounds of deer skins. The Langlois family came to the Illinois country from Canada where a Noel Langlois was a pilot up the St. Lawrence when the French first settled on the shores of that river and laid the foundations of Canada. But Jean Adrian Langlois who lived in Ste. Genevieve, came from France and was not related to the Canadian Langlois. Joseph Langlois and Joseph Genereux owned a land grant in partnership on the Dardenne.

[23] Amable Chartran was among settlers of Carondelet. See ante, p. 384, note 142. A Chartran was at Fort de Chartres in 1764.

[24] Pedro Bissonette married Genevieve Picard. Came from Cahokia.

[25] John Thomas Ubalde, or Waldy.

[26] See ante, page 383, note 100.

[27] Jean Baptiste Senecal or Senegal. No doubt related to Antoine Senecal of St. Louis.

[28] Jean Baptiste Belam, or Belland, married Catherine Lalande widow of Pierre Pelletier dit Bouchard. He came from Cahokia. From the Cahokia records it appears that a Baptiste Bellan in 1780 assigned a note made by one Jos. Relle to Antoine Haunand, and this may be the Jean Baptiste Belan in St. Charles.

[29] Jacques Marechal, a son of Nicolas Marechal, senior, who came to St. Louis from Fort de Chartres. Jacques married Genevieve Cardinal, widow of J. B. Vifvarenne.

[30] Pedro Levou or Lerou no doubt came from Cahokia, where a M. Lerou or Leron was a clerk of Jean Baptiste LeCroix in 1781.

[31] A Henry Bertholet lived at Detroit and a Jean Baptiste Bertholette at "McKinac" in 1814.

[32] A Jacques Matot had a concession in the upper common field of St. Charles. The Gabriel mentioned in the census probably came from Cahokia, where the Mathot family owned some property. The estate of Jos. Method was administered under the direction of the Cahokia court in 1781 and Pierre Roy was guardian of the minors of Method.

[33] Pedro Troge came from Cahokia, where he was "huissier" of the Cahokia court for a time. Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 55.

[34] May be Lawrence Nixon.

[35] Have not been able to identify this Gregorio Tercero (Gregoire Third). But Gregoire is a common Christian name in the Kiercereaux family — Tercero may also be intended for Kiercereaux — and may relate to the third of that name in that family. The first of the name in the Illinois country was Gregoire Kiercereaux de Kesignac and whose widow in 1748 married Gillet Boulque at Fort de Chartres. Gregoire (2) was born at Fort de Chatres in 1752 and married Marie Magdalena St. Francois in 1774. Gregoire (3) married Caroline Dodier in 1801, and may be the "Gregoire Tercero" of this census.

[36] This is Maturin Beauvet. Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 99.

[37] Louis Pujol, one of the first settlers of Portage des Sioux.

[38] François Faustin or Fortin married Rosalie Kiercereaux in St. Louis.

[39] This Nicolas Couns or Coontz, was in partnership with Maturin Beauvet and John Beddick Cook.

[40] One of the first settlers of Portage des Sioux.

[41] Probably Joseph Rivard, a trader, and who was in partnership with Pierre Blondin. A François Rivart at Fort de Chartres in 1726.

[42] This is an ancient name on the Mississippi, variously spelled Prevost, Prevot, Provot, Prove, Pravau, and Proveaux. In 1745 a Nicolas Prauvaux married Françoise Quebedeau dit L'Espagnol. In 1746 he was a "habitant de Concession les des mines." In 1765 Jean Baptiste Prevot his son married Agnes Loise there. In 1745 Phillip Renault, the Director of the Mines, made a deed to land to Nicolas Prevot dit Blondin. From the St. Louis archives it also appears that Jean Baptiste Provot married Angelique, an Indian. A Pierre Prevot was a resident of Cahokia in 1780 and prior to that time. In 1782 he was appointed agent to carry a letter presenting the grievances of the people of Cahokia to Virginia. The Provo river in Utah derives its name from a member of this family.

[43] Jean Baptiste Petit married Therese Chavron. He moved to St. Charles from St. Louis.

[44] Jean Baptiste Gresa dit Capitaine married Therese Reilhe, no doubt related to Antoine Reilhe, perhaps his sister. The name Gresa also spelled "Grazer" in the land records.

[45] Eustache Truillier dit Lacombe.

[46] Nicolas Royer dit Sansquartier, probably a son of the soldier Nicolas Rover, senior, who came to St. Louis from Fort de Chartres. He was stationed at the Fort as early as 1745.

[47] Louis Hunaut married Jeanne Riviére dit Bacanne. He owned land in the upper St. Charles common field.

[48] Francois Malvot?

[49] François Fleury dit Grenier.

CXXVI

STATISTICAL CENSUS OF NEW MADRID OF 1797

General archives of the Indies, Seville — Papers from the Island of Cuba.

List of the inhabitants of Nuevo Madrid, their slaves, stock and harvests, for the year 1797

Heads of Families	Women	Sons	Daughters	Slaves	Horses	Cows	Corn
Pedro Derrocher[1]	1		1		5	20	400
Ricardo Jones Waters[2]				3	5	100	3000
Roberto McCay[3] [McCoy]	1	1	1		2	12	400
Francisco Lesieur[4]	1		2		8	10	300
Widow Rees[5] [Azor]	1			5		5	300
Josef Aranot[6]	1	1	3		2		100
Josef Story[7]	1				3	14	250
Jacobo Miers[8] [Myers]	1	2	4			6	
Josef Santa Maria[9]	1	2	1		1	8	150
Francisco Riche Dupin[10]	1	1				4	60
Moises Lantforg[11]	1	1	3		5	40	500
Francisco Santa Maria[12]	1	2	3			4	200
Huguer (sic) Mº Dª Chisholm[13]	1	1	3	2		20	500
Phelippe Leduc[14]							
Josef Leduc[15]							
Widow Cirille Leduc[16]	1					2	
François Gonnette[17]							25
Tomas Jacob[18]	1						50
Juan Arast[19]					3	20	500
Alexander Sanson[20]	1	1				2	30
Josef Lafanait[21]	1	1					
Pedro A.^{tr} Laforge[22]	1	2	2		2		100
Bartolomy Tardiveau[23]				2		6	100
Luis Vandenbenden[24]	1			4		3	100
Henry Green[25]							
Joseph Vandenbenden[26]						10	100
Pedro Lequin[27]						3	100
Andres Goder[28]	1						50
Juan Lavallee[29]	1	1		2	1	3	
Juan Bautista Racine[30]	1	1	2		1	4	60
Juan Bautista Dutrecuble (sic)[31]							
Llisah Jacson[32]			2			4	150
James Rayen[33]				1			
Juan Pretehet[34]		3	1				200
Guillermo Mock[35]	1						
Joseph La Plante[36]	1		2		3	12	300
Francisco Racine	1	2	3		2	7	60
Juan Bautista Maisonville[37]							
Francisco Maisonville[38]							
Pierre Garan[39]	1	1			1	3	60

Heads of Families	Women	Sons	Daughters	Slaves	Horses	Cows	Corn
Pedro Sabourin [40]	1	1	1			2	
Widow Daria [41]	1	1	1			5	60
Arthur Mellon							
Juan Bautista Barsaloux [42]					2	12	400
Josef Legrand [43]							30
George Wilson [44]	1	1	1		2	6	500
Carlos Bonneau [45]	1	3	2		1	2	50
A woman, Clermont [46]	1	2					
Francisco Paquette [47]	1						150
Laurenzo Aveline [48]							
Juan Thirios [49]							
Felix Longue [50]							
Carlos Guilbaut [51]	1		2			2	50
Juan Derlac [52]	1		1			2	30
Francisco Berthiaume [53]					4	2	
Josef Berthiaume						2	
Hiacinthe Berthiaume							
Josef Rideau [54]	1	4	1			6	200
Luis Brouillette [55]	1	3			2	5	200
Antonio Aubernois [56]	1				5	6	200
Estevan Santa Maria [57]		3	2		1	12	300
Isaac Tompson [58]	1			1	3	10	200
Francisco Paquin [59]	1	7			2	10	80
Luis Saint Aubin [60]	1	1	1			3	50
Juan Simon Guerin [61]	1	2	1			2	50
Jacobo Adaver	1		3			10	200
Juan Guilmore [62]							
Andres Drybread [63]	1				3	20	300
Juan Drybread [64]			1		1	6	200
Tomas Horsley [65]							200
Francisco Langlois [66]							
Jacobo Laderoute [67]							
Ambrosio Seraphin [68]							
Jacobo Beaugard [69]	1	4	3		2	10	500
Pablo Laderoute [70]	1	1				2	50
Moises Malbeat [71]	1		2				
Juan Bautista Chartier [72]							
Widow Soldener	1						200
Juan Bautista Grimar [73]							
Luis Denoyon [74]							
Samuel Dorsey [75]					2	4	100
Nicolas Auger [76]	1			1		3	80
Josef McCourtney [77]	1		1			4	400
Phelipe Siebert [78]	1	3					
Andres Wilson [79]	1					3	100
Jacobo Cotter [80]		1	1		2	4	40
Juan Bautista Dupuic [81]							
Pedro Saffray [82]					2	6	350
David Gray [83]						2	30
De —— Biggis [84]	1	1				4	
Widow Chartier [85]	1	1				2	80
Maria Cheraquise [86]	1	1	3			4	30
Nicolas Pedro Poirier [87]	1	1					40
Josef Michel				1	3	12	100

Heads of Families	Women	Sons	Daughters	Slaves	Horses	Cows	Corn
Ysidor Dapuir [88]	1		1				40
Pedro Gibault [89]			1				
Jacobo Guilt [90]	1					2	80
Luis Dubois [91]	1	2	2		3	1	40
A woman, Largillon [92]							30
Antonio Vachard	1	1			1	6	50
Joseph Factto [*sic*] [93]	1				2	3	300
Agnes Seraphine [94]	1						
Alexo Picard	1	3			1	2	25
A woman, Ducomb [95]	1					6	
Catalina Charauone [96]	1	1	1		4	10	
A woman, Labulliere [97]	1	1	1			1	
Martin McCormeek [*i. e.*, McCormick]	1	1	2			3	200
Jacobo Crow [98]	1	1					200
Jacobo Kerette [99]			1	1	1	48	300
Francisco Desrousse [100]			1				
Toussaint Gordes [101]							
Boruel Breby [102]			1			2	40
Jales Walis [103]							
Andres Giroult [104]							
Juan Sommer [105]							100
Juan Bautista Chaudillon [106]							
Juan Walton [107]							
Jacobo Mean						2	
Georges Onraw [108]						2	200
Tomas Faustismen [109]	1	3	2		3	10	300
Juan Viot dit Gascon [110]	1	2	3				50
Francisco Couteley [111]	1	1				2	100
N.as Peigne [112]	1	1	1		2	4	100
Samuel Arill [113]							
Juan Walls							
Francisco Archasubean [114]							
Juan Bautista Gervais [115]							
Alberto Filson [116]						4	50
Phelipe Louvieres [117]							
Maney Fool [*sic*] [118]	1						
Francisco Hadson [119]	1	2	1				
George Ruddell [120]	1	4	2	5	2	12	800
Juan Hornes [*sc.*, Horner]	1					3	20
Roberto Withe [Wbit]	1	2				2	100
Georges M. Reagan	1	1		10	2	12	1,200
Christopher Winsor	1	2				12	200
Juan Parkes [*sc.*, Parker]							
David Shelby	1	6	2		2	10	400
Claude Thiriet [Thiriot]						2	60
Williams Kang [Long]							
Jaequin Lewis	1	2	2				200
Luis Metayes [*sc.*, Metayer]							
Miguel Metivee [Metiers]							
Roberto Opten [121]							
Juan Bautista Langlois							
Juan Barry							
Pedro Vanidestine [122]					1		200
Rose Rowen [Rowan]							

Heads of Families	Women	Sons	Daughters	Slaves	Horses	Cows	Corn
Williams Morphy [Murphy]	1	2	2			4	100
Daniel Rice							
William Luermes							
Tomas W. Caulk [133]	1	3	3	1		3	200
Widow Mathews	1	3	4			5	1,000
Daniel Mathews							
Santiago Cavenagts [134]	1	2	1				
Jacobo McFarlen [McFarland]							
Benjamin Patersomme [Paterson]	1	2	2			2	100
Carlos Crabin [135]							
Juan Lamb							
Guillermo Botton [136]							
Jacobo M. Mollen [McMullen]	1					2	40
Juan McCleland							200
Tomas Crispin							
Josef Geuereis [Gervais]	1						
Carlos Loignon	1	1					
Francisco Morin							
Aarom Graams [137]	1	2	3				200
Daniel F. Vanghaus [Vaughan]							
Ricardo Westbrook	1	2	4		1	6	200
Andres Block	1	1	2			3	100
Pedro Vives	1	1	2		1	3	50
Guillermo Dorson							50
Waaling Silch [138]	1						
Juan Stridey	1	2					
Guillermo Taylor							
Pablo Sheves							
Juan Sliter [Slater]							
Georges Dorman	1	1				2	100
Jacobo Parker							
Abner M. Kentocke [McIntosh]							
Roberto Polderin							
Juan Bautista Caron							
Juan Tukes [Tucker]							
Joseph Lewis	1				1	2	200
Guillermo Rose							
Nicolas Devores							
James Sirres [Sears]							
Joseph Sincops							
Tomas Lenze							
Cristopher Tipus [Titus or Piper]							
Michel Murphy	1					2	100
Widow Sampson Arches [Archer]	1	2	3				
Benjamin Denunter [139]	1	1			1	7	200
Jacobo Bowen							
Juan Bautista Dubois							
Jacobo Smiths	1	1					
Tomas Nuley [Neeley]	1	1				5	200
Mineure Lowaros [*sic*]	1				1	2	100
Conrad Carpenter [140]		2	2		2	5	200
Juan Fice [Rice]	1		1		2	2	100
David Simple [Semple]							
James Parce [Pearce]	1	1					

Heads of Families	Women	Sons	Daughters	Slaves	Horses	Cows	Corn
Patrick Cojidi [Casidy]							
Alexander Auguste Sollin [Follin]							
Guillermo Bouillette			2		1	4	
Henrico Stoffle	1	1					
Luis Baby[182]	1	2		6			
Robert Roger	1				2	4	400
Francisco Brown							
Nicolas Subtib [Subtil]							
Maria Wood	1						
Maria Mole	1						
Francisco Michel	1	1	1				
Luis Saint Jean							
Joseph Saxton	1	2	1		1	7	
Juan Bautista Mellet	1	3	3				
Carried forward from preceding pages	110	137	114	46	129	730	23,060
General Total	112	142	118	46	136	737	23,060 Minotes

SUMMARY

Heads of Families	197	Population, 569
Women	112	
Sons	142	
Daughters	118	

Slaves	46
Horses	130
Cows	777

Harvest of Corn	23,060 minotes.

NOTE: The number of swine owned by each citizen has not been set down, but the total comes to about .... 3,000.

Nuevo Madrid, December 1, 1797.

CARLOS DEHAULT DELASSUS (rubric).

NOTE: This list differs from that of the preceding year.

In its increase of persons by	112
Of slaves	4
Of horses	34
Of cattle	119
Of corn	6,000 minotes.

DELASSUS (rubric).

[1] Pedro Derocher was a native of Nantes, Bretagne, France. In New Madrid he was captain of the militia, and acted as interpreter. He was a merchant. He married Rosalie Lafond, a daughter of Dr. Jos. Lafond, who piloted Gen. Clark from Kaskaskia to Vincennes. He died at New Madrid and Capt. Robert McCoy was guardian and administrator of his estate.

[2] Dr. Richard Jones Waters. See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 143.

[3] Capt. Robert McCoy, a Spanish American official and commandant of New Madrid in 1800.

[4] One of the founders of New Madrid. He married Cecile Guilbeaut, daughter of Charles Guilbeaut and Cecile Chirieaut, and a grand-daughter of Hypolite Campeau, of Detroit. See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. iv, p. 106.

[5] Azor Rees died between July 1st and the date of this census.

[6] Joseph Arnois, who afterwards claimed a settlement right at Charette, on the Missouri.

[7] The Spanish surveyor of New Madrid. For particulars see Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, 142 et seq. A native of Massachusetts.

[8] This name usually spelled St. Marys.

[10] Full name Anna Claude François Riche Dupin. Was in New Madrid in 1790 an officer of the Militia and Indian trader.

[11] Moses Lunsford. A George Lunsford at Kaskaskia.

[12] François St. Marys, from Vincennes and one of the early settlers of New Madrid.

[13] Dr. Hugh McDonald Chisholm, came to New Madrid from Kaskaskia, where he served in the militia. From New Madrid removed to Natchez and had a claim to a lot under the Bluff there. Seems to have been a negro trader.

[14] Marie Philip Leduc, afterwards removed to St. Louis. He was secretary of DeLassus. See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, pp. 100, 136, 383, vol. iii, 8, 44, 267.

[15] A relative of Marie Philip. Owned a land grant on Lake St. Marys.

[16] She was the mother of Marie Philip Leduc.

[17] A Joseph Gonet lived at Little Prairie and a Peter Gonet at New Madrid. In 1709 a Sieur Guenet had a special permit to trade among the Indians — owing to losses he had suffered from the Iroquois.

[18] A school teacher at New Madrid.

[19] John E. Hart on Bayou St. Thomas, near the present Sikeston.

[20] Alexander Sampson, a native of Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania.

[21] Joseph Lafernait had a grant of land on St. John's Bayou.

[22] For particulars as to Laforge, see Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 105 et seq.

[23] See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 144. He died in New Madrid. A conspicuous character in the history of the early west.

[24] A civil engineer. See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, 155. Came to New Madrid from Gallipolis.

[25] Was a resident of New Madrid in 1795.

[26] A brother of Louis Vandenbenden and intended manager of the bakery to be established by Audrain, Tardiveau & Co. at New Madrid.

[27] Pedro Sequin, dit Laderoute.

[28] Andre Godair came to New Madrid from Vincennes.

[29] See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, pp. 141, 363, 368.

[30] A native of Vincennes and one of the early settlers of New Madrid.

[31] Jean Baptiste Dubreuil?

[32] Elisha Jackson.

[33] In New Madrid in 1796.

[34] John Pritchett.

[35] William Mock, afterwards on the waters of the Catahoula in Rapides Parish, Louisiana.

[36] From Kaskaskia. He had a grant of land adjacent to the present Sikeston, which he sold to Joseph Hunter.

[37] Lived on the portage of the St. François, near the present Portageville.

[38] He married a sister of Tecumseh.

[39] Pierre Gareau. A Jean Baptiste Gareau dit St. Onge, also spelled St. Ange, or Xanitonge, native of Canada, was a resident of Ste. Genevieve in 1781. A Pierre Gareau, born at Boucherville, Canada, in 1673 was one of the first settlers of Detroit.

[40] This name is also found in the St. Louis Archives.

[41] Probably Darrys, a name found among the habitants of Vincennes.

[42] The name of a traveling trader, Probably came from Cahokia where a Nicolas Barsaloux died and LePage was appointed guardian of the children and after the death of Le Page, his widow by order of the court in 1784, was discharged. It seems that Nicolas Barsaloux married a Le Page. A Nicolas Barsalou in 1767 received a grant of a lot in St. Louis fronting on the river, between the present Mulberry and Lombard Streets. This Jean Baptist may have been a son.

[43] Had a land grant of 800 arpents at the Portage of the St François and lived there.

[44] See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, 147.

[45] Came from Vincennes.

[46] Her husband's name was Jean Baptiste Clermont and he moved to Vincennes, abandoning her at New Madrid.

[47] A François Paquette, likely the same person, in 1800 lived and claimed land on the Cuivre river. He sold his claim to St. Vrain.

[48] "Adaline" or "Edeline" of Vincennes, where this family claimed an ancient grant on Racoon creek.

[49] Jean Thiriot, also from Vincennes.

[50] A John Langue-Epec on the Mississippi in Lower Louisiana, and a Louis Longua on Lake Catahoula, in the Attakapas country. Perhaps an abbreviation of the name Languedoc.

[51] Charles Guibault afterwards found on Bayou Boeuf in the Attakapas country. The lots he had in New Madrid he sold to Peyroux. In 1803 he claimed 200 arpents back of Little Prairie. Came from Vincennes where he married Cecilia Thiriet. His daughter Constance married Gerard Dorlac, a native of Bordeaux, France, in New Madrid. Another daughter married François Lesieur.

[52] This name is also spelled "Derlan." He had a settlement right near Little Prairie. A François Dorlac at Ste. Genevieve.

[53] The Berthieaumes, François, Noel and Hyancinthe, were Indian traders and interpreters. François was a gunsmith among the Shawnees on Apple creek and his wife was an Indian, or half-blood Indian. His daughter was the second wife of Louis Lorimier, and after Lorimier's death married Dr. John Logan, who after her death married in Illinois and moved to Jackson county. He was the father of Gen. John A. Logan. This François claimed 800 arpents of land at Apple creek. Hyacinthe made a settlement among the Indians on the St. François and was evidently a hunter. Noel claimed land at Vincennes and from this I infer that they all came from there into the Spanish country.

[54] This name is also given as Riendeau and as Riend. He came from Vincennes to New Madrid.

[55] An emigrant from Vincennes.

[56] Anthony Meloche dit Hibernois, an Irishman. He married in New Madrid in 1795.

[57] Stephen St. Marys.

[58] Isaac Thompson, one of the first American settlers of Big Prairie near Sikeston. It seems that he received a grant of land there in 1795.

[59] This name is also given as François Pasquin, or Pacquin. He came from Vincennes, where he had served in the militia.

[60] This Louis St. Aubin in 1791 came to New Madrid from Vincennes. No doubt a descendant of Jean Casse dit St. Aubin, of Detroit, who was a corporal of the troops there, and lived to be 100 years old. This Louis St. Aubin owned a lot in the rear of the church at Vincennes. From New Madrid he removed to Little Prairie. In 1803 St. Aubin had a family of five children, hence we find a Louis St. Aubin, Jun. Both these St. Aubin's had a grant of land on Big Lake.

[61] He was a mason and bricklayer.

[62] This John Gilmore in 1803 was on Little Rock creek in the St. Louis district, where he made a claim for 700 arpents of land.

[63] This name is a translation of the German name Andreas Drockenbrott. His daughter Anna Catharina married Wilhelm Spann another German in 1792 at New Madrid. Evidently they were among the first German settlers west of the river. The name of Wilhelm Spahn was transmogrified by the Spanish officials into "Guillermo Yspaan." Drybread afterwards settled on the Hubble creek in the Cape Girardeau district.

[64] A relative of Andreas.

[65] Claimed a 1,000 arpents below Little Prairie.

[66] He was commander of the Spanish Galliot "Flecha" stationed at New Madrid, and also had under him the gunboat "Toro" and batteau "Prince of the Austurias." But see Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, 343. He afterwards was charged by Gen. Wilkinson of having received a lot in New Orleans from Daniel Clark to swear falsely against him.

[67] One Jacque Laderoute lived in Kaskaskia, where he sold his claim to land to William Morrison. A James S. Laderoute also owned a lot there. But it should be remembered that this name "Laderoute" is frequently a "dit." A Jacques Laderoute of Vincennes may be the same as the one mentioned in the Kaskaskia records.

[68] Ambrose Benoit dit Seraphim.

[69] Jacob Bogard.

[70] Had a concession on Lake St Marys near New Madrid.

[71] Jean Moise Malboeuf lived in Vincennes until 1787. He was a hunter there, and thence moved to New Madrid. He was at the Falls of the Ohio in 1785.

[72] One of the old habitants of Vincennes, where he lived on the Wabash opposite the town. Sold his claim there to Col. Vigo. It may be that the Vincennes Chartiers were related or descendants of Louis Rene Chartier, Seigneur of Lotbiniere, chief councillor of the Supreme Council at Quebec in 1705.

[73] This Grimar, or Grimarre, or Grimault, also came from Vincennes. A Charles Grimarre served in the Militia there.

[74] From Vincennes, where he lived on the lower Prairie.

[75] Dr. Samuel Dorsey, a native of Maryland, post surgeon of Spanish New Madrid. He married a daughter of Charles Bonneau there. After her death married a daughter of Jeremiah Thompson of the Cape Girardeau district. After the cession he moved to the Mississippi territory.

[76] He was a native of France, and one of the adventurers, who settled Gallipolis. From there he came to New Madrid.

[77] Joseph McCourtney was a native of Ireland and in the New Madrid records it is stated that he was a "Protestant"— no doubt a Scotch-Irishman.

[78] In New Madrid in 1795.

[79] See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 147.

[80] A Jacques Coteau, dit Chatoyer in 1782 owned 400 arpents on the black ground of the Embarras in the Vincennes district. From there he came to New Madrid in 1791. He was trader and a carpenter, and the son of Etienne Couteau and Therese Briant, natives of Canada. In New Madrid he married Charlotte Maisonville.

[81] Had a settlement right on Lake Lesieur and from the New Madrid district moved to Iberville Parish in lower Louisiana, where he settled on the Mississippi. Antoine Dupuis, dit Beauregard, one of the first settlers of Detroit.

[82] See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 148.

[83] See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, pp. 142–148.

[84] A John Biggs was in New Madrid in 1799 and this is likely the person intended here. May be the John Biggs, who was at one time a resident of Kaskaskia.

[85] From Vincennes. A Jean Baptiste Chartier lived at New Madrid at this time.

[86] A Cherokee woman.

[87] The name of Poirier found among the habitants of Vincennes. In St. Louis one Jean B. Poirier was known as "dit Lafleur." Pierre Rene Poirier, farmer and soldier, one of the first settlers of Detroit.

[88] Isidore Dupin or Dupuis, son of Xavier Dupin of Montreal, Canada.

[89] Father Gibault. See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. i, p. 357, vol. ii, pp. 146 et seq.

[90] James Gill, from Droghneda, Ireland, bombardier, and soldier in Col. Thos. Porter's 4th Penn. Regt. and received his discharge in 1781 and came to New Madrid. Had a grant of land on Lake St. Anne which he sold to Peyroux.

[91] From Kaskaskia.

[92] This may be a nickname and stand for "Lorgneur," or "ogler."

[93] Joseph Fache, a Kaskaskia name.

[94] Should be Ambrose Benoit dit Seraphim.

[95] Perhaps the wife of the school teacher Philip Ducomb.

[96] Catalina, the Chavanous, or Shawnee.

[97] Labulliere, may be a nickname and stand for "La Bouillerie" from "Boillir" to boil.

[98] Settled on Bayou St. John in 1795.

[99] Jacob Skerette.

[100] François DeRousse, from Vincennes.

[101] Touissant Godair, a Vincennes name. This Godair received a grant of land near Cape Girardeau. He is one of the four French settlers in that district.

[102] Burrel Brady?

[103] Joel Wallis or Wallace. A David Wallis lived at Kaskaskia.

[104] A Andrew Giroux, was a habitant of Kaskaskia.

[105] John Summers, from Glasgow, Scotland.

[106] Had a settlement on the St. François.

[107] Afterwards lived at Concordia in lower Louisiana.

[108] George Unruh, a German.

[110] Settled at Little Prairie.

[111] Lived on Bayou St. Thomas.

[112] Nicholas Payne.

[113] Samuel Arrell. A James Arrell on Byrd's creek in the Cape Girardeau district.

[114] François Archambeau, a Kaskaskia family.

[115] Probably related to the Cahokia family of that name.

[116] Should be Albert Tison and in the previous July lived among the Cherokees on the St. François, in what is now Dunklin county. He was a land speculator. He made claim to much land after the cession as assignee of grants to a number of people, who had never applied for land and did not know that they had been granted land. See ante, p. 379, note 30.

[117] A Michel L'Amours de Louvieres in 1744 lived in Prairie du Rocher. This Philip no doubt a member of this family.

[118] This name may be intended for Benjamin Fooy, who was Spanish interpreter for the Chickasaw Indians.

[119] Francis Hudson, came from Richmond, Virginia, was a locksmith. He deserted his family at New Madrid.

[120] As to the Ruddle or Ruddel family, see Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, pp. 160, 166; vol. iii, 158.

[121] Robert Upton.

[122] Peter Van Iderstine.

[123] From Maryland.

[124] James Kavanaugh, from Ireland, a blacksmith.

[125] Charles Crabbin had a settlement right on the Mississippi.

[126] William Bolton.

[127] Aaron Graham.

[128] Walling Fitch.

[129] Benjamin Demint settled on Bayou St. Anthony.

[130] See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 156. His wife Rebekah wrote Catharine Archer at New Madrid in 1790, from the Saline in the present Ste. Genevieve county and where Carpenter then lived, that they were compelled to move to Mississippi river on account of the hostilities of the Osage Indians. On the river Carpenter established a ferry. But his wife was not pleased with her neighbors and writes "that it does not answer for us to live with French people." Catharine Archer was the wife of Sampson Archer and who in 1782 was captain of the 4th company of foot of the 2d batallion of Westmoreland and in 1783 captain of a Westmoreland rifle company.

[131] See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, page 153.

CXXVII

STATISTICAL CENSUS OF THE DISTRICT OF CAPE GIRARDEAU

CAPE GIRARDEAU, November 1, 1803	Whites						Slaves						Total	Crops and Productions						Horned Cattle	Horses
	Males			Females			Males			Females											
	First Class	Second Class	Third Class	First Class	Second Class	Third Class	First Class	Second Class	Third Class	First Class	Second Class	Third Class		Wheat	Corn	Tobacco	Flax and Hemp	Cotton	Maple Sugar		
														bu.	bu.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.		
Louis Lorimier[1]	2	4	...	1	2	...	3	7	...	1	5	...	25	300	1500	......	......	......	500	112	85
Bartholomew Cousin[2]	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	......	60	......	......	......	......	8	1
Pierre Godair[3]	...	2	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	......	300	......	......	300	150	18	10
Solomon Thorn[4]	1	1	1	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	2
Benjamin Goodwin[5]	1	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	......	......	......	......	......	......	2	4
Andrew Ramsey, pere[6]	1	3	1	2	...	1	3	5	...	3	2	...	21	240	2000	......	200	......	400	110	19
Andrew Ramsey, fils	2	1	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	5	......	330	......	......	......	200	19	7
Alexander Parish[7]	3	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	......	800	......	100	......	200	16	2
William Boner	...	1	...	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	......	400	......	150	20	......	24	4
Samuel Bradley[8]	...	1	1	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	......	100	......	......	100	130	18	2
Timothy Connelly[9]	3	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	40	320	......	200	50	200	17	3
Mrs. Alex. Guibony[10]	2	2	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	2	1	...	11	......	1000	......	100	200	300	50	0
Jeremiah Simpson[11]	4	3	...	1	2	...	2	...	...	3	1	...	16	30	300	......	......	100	100	31	5
Abraham Byrd, Sr.[12]	3	3	...	1	1	...	3	7	...	2	7	...	27	50	500	......	......	......	250	15	4
Jacob Jacobs[13]	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	......	100	......	50	......	100	2	1
John Weaver[14]	1	1	...	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	20	50	40	60	300	......	10	...
James Cox[15]	2	8	1	3	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	12	......	250	......	50	120	50	8	3
Simeon Kenyon[16]	1	1	...	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	30	250	......	70	......	50	8	1
Jeremiah Thompson[17]	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	2	...	1	1	...	6	20	600	......	100	......	50	10	1
John Thompson[18]	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	3	......	600	......	......	......	......	2	1
Elizabeth Thompson	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	1
Samuel Randol[19]	...	2	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	40	230	......	40	......	100	14	7
Mrs. Samuel Randol	3	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	6	......	80	......	40	......	50	10	2
Enos Randol, pere	1	...	1	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	70	200	......	100	400	100	14	5
Moses Hurley[20]	2	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	......	200	......	40	......	100	5	2
Joseph Thompson[21]	...	4	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	......	400	......	50	1000	400	12	...
Joseph Worthington[22]	...	2	...	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	......	200	......	......	100	200	6	6
Samuel Strother[23]	1	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	......	200	......	......	......	50	4	2
William Strother	1	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	5	......	......	......	......	......	......	6	3
Benjamin Hargrove[24]	...	3	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	......	300	......	......	300	200	2	2
Matthew Hubble	2	3	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	......	500	......	50	......	150	7	1
Ithmar Hubble[25]	2	2	...	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	......	600	......	100	......	200	31	4
Daniel Hubble	1	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	......	100	......	......	......	......	1	...

STATISTICAL CENSUS OF THE DISTRICT OF CAPE GIRARDEAU, (*Continued*)

CAPE GIRARDEAU, November 1, 1803	Whites						Slaves						Total	Crops and Productions						Horned Cattle	Horses
	Males			Females			Males			Females				Wheat	Corn	Tobacco	Flax and Hemp	Cotton	Maple Sugar		
	First Class	Second Class	Third Class	First Class	Second Class	Third Class	First Class	Second Class	Third Class	First Class	Second Class	Third Class		bu.	bu.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.		
Jonathan Hubble	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	....	100	....	....	100	....	4	2
Horace Austin[26]	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	1
Martin Rodney[27]	1	3	...	1	1	...	1	1	...	...	1	...	9	300	1500	60	300	....	260	33	7
Jacob Foster, pere[28]	2	1	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	....	300	50	50	200	100	8	2
Jacob Foster, fils	...	1	..	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	....	100	....	40	20	100	4	2
William Murphy[29]	2	3	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	....	300	....	100	250	200	12	3
James Caruthers[30]	...	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	....	100	....	100	100	600	6	...
Renna Brummit	1	2	...	4	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	....	150	....	40	200	200	3	1
John Drybread[31]	...	1	1	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	....	400	....	100	2000	250	36	8
Joseph Fyght[32]	1	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	30	100	....	25	300	125	6	1
John Losta[33]	2	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	....	350	....	40	400	100	5	5
Andrew Franks[34]	2	2	1	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	....	100	100	60	150	350	8	3
Allen McKenzie[35]	2	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	....	250	....	200	500	250	15	2
Mrs. Walter Burrows[36]	1	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	....	500	....	50	....	150	14	2
John Burrows[37]	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	....	200	....	....	....	....	2	2
John Summers, pere[38]	...	2	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	....	1000	....	100	100	200	10	4
John Summers, fils	...	1	...	3	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	6	....	150	....	....	150	150	5	2
Andrew Summers	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	3	....	100	....	....	100	....	7	3
Medad Randol	2	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	15	60	....	40	....	150	40	3
James Randol	1	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	15	180	....	40	....	200	8	2
Anthony Randol	1	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	15	180	....	40	....	200	6	3
Hugh Cresswell[39]	2	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	....	50	....	20	....	....	6	1
Joseph Waller[40]	2	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	6	....	650	....	100	1000	250	8	1
James Dowty[41]	3	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	25	50	....	150	....	400	18	3
William Williams[42]	1	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	20	250	....	150	300	180	12	1
Isaac Williams[43]	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	....	....	....	....	....	180	2	2
Mrs. Dixon[44]	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	....	100	....	....	60	60	7	...
Enos Randol, fils	1	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	25	80	....	....	100	200	7	1
John Abernathy[45]	1	4	...	3	1	...	2	2	...	...	1	...	14	....	250	1000	....	1000	250	5	4
Lewis Eustache[46]	2	1	...	4	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	....	200	....	40	....	....	5	...
Thomas Bull[47]	2	1	...	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	....	200	....	60	300	150	8	5
William Daugherty[48]	1	2	...	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	250	800	200	150	1000	200	25	5
Elijah Daugherty[49]	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	2
Jesse Cain[50]	2	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	20	50	....	20	50	100	6	2

Robert Green[51]	1	3	...	3	4	...	2	1	...	1	...	...	15	...	100	400	50	1000	150	13	2
Lewis Latham[52]	...	1	...	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	40	180	...	...	400	180	12	...
Mrs. James Miller[53]	3	...	...	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	100	...	60	...	...	18	...
Daniel Brant[54]	...	2	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	40	...	30	8	2
Jonathan Foreman[55]	1	4	...	2	3	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	11	70	500	...	100	50	150	15	7
James Arrell[56]	1	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	500	...	250	600	...	7	1
Henry Sharadin[57]	1	2	...	1	4	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	10	150	800	...	600	600	200	40	6
Henry Hand[58]	...	3	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	50	550	30	20	400	400	9	3
Lewis Dixon	2	1	...	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	...	200	12	50	...	40	7	1
Gilbert Hector[59]	3	1	...	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	...	300	50	...	...	300	12	2
Christopher Hays[60]	1	1	1	2	3	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	10	60	1500	...	1100	300	300	25	6
George Hays	1	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	4	...	500	...	100	500	200	12	6
Samuel Pew[61]	5	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	...	400	...	60	600	...	11	5
Charles Fallenash[62]	2	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	300	...	40	...	...	9	1
Hezekiah Dixon[63]	...	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	30	150	...	60	250	60	6	...
Elijah Wittaker	2	1	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	...	300	100	150	300	150	9	...
Benijah Laugherty[64]	...	1	...	5	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	...	200	...	...	100	100	16	2
Hugh Connelly[65]	...	2	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	100	...	100	400	...	5	3
James Cooper[66]	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	50	...	...	100	50	2	1
David Patterson[67]	...	2	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	400	...	150	300	...	18	8
John Patterson[68]	1	1	...	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	...
James Boyd[69]	...	2	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	50	...	...	400	100	7	...
John Boyd	2	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	200	...	50	600	100	15	1
John Magee[70]	...	2	...	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	500	...	...	...	...	6	4
William Hill	4	4	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	...	300	100	...	400	...	6	1
Stephen Byrd	1	1	...	2	1	...	1	2	...	1	1	...	10	20	2200	...	...	...	60	23	10
Jonathan Buys[71]	2	1	...	2	1	...	...	2	...	1	1	...	10	...	300	...	20	...	30	13	2
Jeptha Cornelius[72]	3	2	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	...	200	...	150	100	...	9	1
Amos Byrd	...	1	1	...	1	...	1	3	...	5	2	...	14	60	1200	...	100	400	...	60	14
Abraham Byrd, Jr	1	1	...	...	...	1	...	1	1	...	4	1	10	...	2000	...	100	1000	100	17	16
John Byrd	3	1	...	4	...	...	...	3	...	2	3	...	16	200	3000	...	...	200	...	30	9
Isaac Kelly[73]	2	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	150	...	...	100	50	3	1
Joseph Young[74]	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	500	...	...	200	...	6	3
Philip Young	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	160	...	...	200	30	4	3
John McCarty[75]	1	2	...	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	8	...	800	...	200	...	500	20	5
Josiah Lee, pere[76]	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	300	...	50	...	200	18	4
Josiah Lee, fils	1	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	200	...	150	...	100	2	3
William Russell[77]	2	1	...	1	1	...	1	...	...	1	1	...	8	...	1100	...	100	1600	200	20	4
Charles Demoss	1	1	...	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	250	...	150	...	...	4	...
Morris Young	1	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Michael O'Hogan	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	150	...	...	...	50	2	1
John Freeman	2	1	...	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
George F. Bollinger[78]	...	1	..	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	4	...	400	...	...	700	60	7	3
Daniel Clingingsmith	4	1	...	1	1	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	...	100	...	50	100	100	10	3
Joseph Nyswonger	...	2	...	...	2	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	5	80	400	...	20	450	600	50	10
Joseph Baker	1	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	100	...	...	100	250	12	3

STATISTICAL CENSUS OF THE DISTRICT OF CAPE GIRARDEAU (*Continued*)

CAPE GIRARDEAU NOVEMBER, 1803	SLAVES						WHITES						Total	CROPS AND PRODUCTIONS						Horned Cattle	Horses
	Males			Females			Males			Females				Wheat	Corn	Tobacco	Flax and Hemp	Cotton	Maple Sugar		
	First Class	Second Class	Third Class	First Class	Second Class	Third Class	First Class	Second Class	Third Class	First Class	Second Class	Third Class		bu.		lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.		
John Probst	...	3	...	4	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	11	...	200	...	80	500	300	15	2
Jeremiah Banish	...	1	1	1	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	60	...	...	...	...	9	...
Daniel Bollinger	1	4	...	3	2	...	...	...	...	2	1	...	13	200	600	...	80	400	350	400	10
Philip Bollinger	2	3	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	50	400	...	80	500	300	30	8
Mrs. Slinker	...	1	...	5	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	25	150	...	60	200	50	15	3
Peter Cryts	1	1	...	3	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	...	160	30	40	100	200	1	4
Conrad Stotler	1	1	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	60	500	...	80	500	400	32	5
Adam Stotler	1	1	...	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	80	300	...	50	300	200	16	3
Joseph Worthington[79]	2	1	...	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	55	2
Peter Stotler	2	1	...	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	30	160	...	50	200	200	13	3
George Grount	1	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	20	200	...	40	200	250	8	2
Peter Grount	1	1	...	4	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	40	300	...	70	400	200	10	3
Mathias Bollinger	4	1	...	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	40	400	...	60	400	300	22	5
Henry Bollinger	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	150	...	20	200	...	5	3
John Bollinger	2	3	...	...	3	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	9	20	400	...	70	500	350	35	5
WilliamBollinger	...	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	200	...	...	200	100	10	4
Daniel Ashabranner	1	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	200	...	30	200	50	4	2
John Hoss	4	2	...	1	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	11	10	200	...	80	400	500	6	4
Leonard Welker	...	3	1	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	40	200	...	60	600	350	12	2
William Finnantg	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Christopher Aidinger	...	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	100	...	60	500	...	4	1
Valentine Lorr	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	100	...	...	...	...	2	...
Peter Hardell	3	1	...	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	4
Jacob Carither	...	3	1	...	4	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4
Fred Limbach, Jr.[80]	2	1	...	2	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	3
Handel Barks	3	1	...	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	12	4
Jacob Barks	...	1	...	1	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	1
John Miller	4	5	...	1	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	13	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5
John Guething[81]	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	200	...	...	...	...	4	3
James McMillen[82]	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	100	...	2	...
Martin Cotner	...	2	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5

—— Patterson	1	4	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	5
Tillman Smith [83]	3	4	...	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	...	250	...	...	...	...	...	5
Ephraim Stout [84]	1	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	200	...	...	...	...	2	...
Jacob Kelley [85]	2	1	1	1	1	...	3	1	...	1	1	...	12	...	200	100	60	600	60	16	4
John Latham [86]	1	2	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	400	200	20	200	...	3	...
Ezekiel Block [87]	2	2	...	4	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
Andeston Rodgers [88]	3	2	...	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	...	100	...	50	50	100	10	...
David McMultrie [89]	1	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	1
Frederick Slinker	2	1	...	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	...	100	...	...	200	100	7	3
William Smith	...	3	...	2	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	...	150	...	...	...	...	1	...
John Hays [90]	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Francois Berthiaume [91]	1	2	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	5	...	150	...	...	...	...	25	15
Roland Meredith [92]	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	100	...	...	...	...	5	3
George Cayender [93]	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	20	200	...	...	100	...	5	4
Charles Friend [94]	4	4	...	3	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	13	...	1000	...	100	500	...	20	4
Thomas Wellborn [95]	2	3	...	4	4	...	...	...	...	3	1	...	17	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
William Ross [96]	2	2	...	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	...	800	...	100	1000	5c	10	...
Edmund Hogan [97]	5	1	...	4	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	12	...	300	...	...	100	100	4	...
William Smith (Tywappity)	1	2	...	2	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	...	1000	...	...	2000	...	30	6
Daniel Sexton [98]	1	1	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	5	...	400	...	...	800	...	9	1
Lemuel Cheney [99]	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
James Currin [100]	3	1	...	2	1	...	1	1	...	1	...	...	11	...	1000	100	30	...	30	29	4
Stephen Quimby	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	300	50	...	...	...	14	...
Robert Quimby [101]	2	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	100	...	...	...	...	6	...
Josiah Quimby	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	3	...	250	...	...	400	...	2	3
Mrs. Williamson [102]	3	...	...	...	1	...	1	1	...	1	1	...	8	...	250	...	...	400	...	6	2
Robert Lane [103]	1	2	...	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	...	300	...	...	100	...	10	2
Jesse Bowden [104]	1	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	400	100	...	200	...	20	10
Alexander Milliken [105]	1	2	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	400	50	...	400	...	15	...
Charles Findley [106]	1	1	...	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	300	...	100	60	...	15	4
Jacob Lene [107]	2	1	...	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	200	50	...	400	...	10	2
John Loyed [108]	1	1	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	200	50	...	200	...	12	2
Thomas Woolsey [109]	1	1	...	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	100	...	...	...	...	2	...
Abraham Randol	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	100	...	40	400	...	3	3
Terence Dyal [110]	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	4	...	200	78	55	130	35	7	2
Alexander Bailie [111]	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Charles Lucas [112]	2	2	...	1	2	...	1	1	...	...	2	...	11	...	500	100	100	200	100	[illegible]	30
Joseph Magee	3	2	...	2	1	...	2	1	...	2	1	...	14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6
Thomas Norris [113]	1	1	...	3	1	...	2	1	...	...	1	...	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4
Curtis Wellborn [114]	3	3	...	2	1	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	11	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
James Wellborn	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Jonathan Wellborn	2	1	...	2	1	...	...	1	...	1	1	...	9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
John Powlin	1	1	...	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Jacob Welker	1	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Inhabitants without families	...	21	2	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	24	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Totals	229	299	20	227	243	11	33	57	...	44	45	1	1206	2950	58990	3100	9200	39000	19000	2380	674

EXPORTATIONS FOR THE YEAR 1803 – 371 barrels of salt pork; 14 barrels of unrefined lard; 8,675 pounds of beef; 1,800 pounds of cotton; 7,000 pounds of bacon.

[1] As to Louis Lorimier, see Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 171 et seq.

[2] Barthélemi Cousin. Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, 180 et seq.

[3] Pierre Godair came from Vincennes to this district.

[4] Was a gunsmith by trade and employed by Lorimier to repair guns for the Indians in their villages. Came to Cape Girardeau from Kaskaskia, where he gave evidence to support fraudulent land claims. He was a resident of Vincennes before he moved to Kaskaskia. His father was Michael Thorn. His brother Daniel Thorn was also charged with giving perjured testimony by the Kaskaskia board of land commissioners to support fraudulent claims.

[5] This Benjamin Goodwin moved to Concordia Parish in lower Louisiana.

[6] Andrew Ramsay originally came from Cecil county, Maryland, and moved westward along the Potomac. For a time he lived in Pittsburg, or at any rate near the forks of the Ohio. He came to the Cape Girardeau district in 1795. For further particulars as to Ramsay and the Ramsay family, see Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 157, 182 et seq, and vol. iii, 129.

[7] In 1802 he had a little improvement on Whitewater, "a half-faced cabin, water-melons planted and a few peach-trees."

[8] Samuel Bradley was a native of Kentucky and resided at Vienna in that state on the Green river in 1785. From there he came to Vincennes and served in the militia, at least he was seen in the parade in 1790 with a gun on his shoulders, when Col. Hamtramck ordered out the troops against the Indians, and all of which facts he proved in order to secure a land claim in that district, but in vain. In about 1799 he came to Cape Girardeau and secured a grant of land from Lorimier, and with whom he became personally acquainted at Vincennes, before Lorimier moved to the Spanish possessions. Bradley lived in the village near Lorimier's residence.

[9] A Timothy Connelly and a Hugh Connelly, jun., served in the Spanish Company, and this may be Hugh Connelly, jun., see post, note 65.

[10] Originally the Giboney family came from Cecil county, Maryland, or from the disputed territory between Maryland and Pennsylvania, and where the family settled before the Revolutionary war. In the Census of Maryland of 1790 the name of Alexander Giboney is found as a resident of Cecil county; prior to this time the land records of Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, show him a resident on Fishing Creek of Little Brittain township. Related by marriage to the Ramsay family, he also moved westward along the Potomac to the forks of the Ohio, and then came down that river to Kentucky, and from there to the Spanish possessions on the west bank of the Mississippi, attracted no doubt by the free land donations offered to all agricultural settlers. Alexander Giboney was a slave owner, and in 1797 settled on the farm still occupied by his descendants, five miles southwest of Cape Girardeau.

[11] A brother-in-law of Andrew Ramsay and Alexander Giboney, and who came west with these families to upper Louisiana.

[12] Abraham Byrd, sen., came from Tennessee. He was a son of Amos Byrd. As to the Byrd family see Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, 185.

[13] Jacob Jacobs was also a brother-in-law of Andrew Ramsay and came with the family into upper Louisiana at the same time, and settled on the waters of Giboney creek.

[14] John Weaver served in the Spanish militia company of Cape Girardeau in the expedition to New Madrid to punish the Indians. See roll of the company, in Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 190.

[15] Came to the district from Kentucky in 1798. He was also a soldier in the Cape Girardeau company.

[16] Kenyon was a son-in-law of James Cox and settled on Randall's creek, in Spanish times known as the Rivière Charles.

[17] He was a native of Virginia and in 1798 settled on the headwaters of Giboney creek. His daughter married Dr. Samuel Dorsey, post-surgeon at Fort Celeste, New Madrid, and another daughter married William Strother in 1801. From the Cape Girardeau district he removed to the Amité river in the Mississippi territory and in 1812 Dr. Dorsey also moved to the same Territory.

[18] Was a soldier in the Spanish Cape Girardeau company.

[19] The Randall, or Randol family came to upper Louisiana in 1798 from Hamilton county, Virginia, and settled at what is now known as Randall's creek.

[20] One of the first settlers of Big Prairie, near the present Sikeston. In his locality he secured a land grant. He married a daughter of Daniel Barton. In the Cape Girardeau district he lived between the waters of Hubble and Randall creeks. In the litigation involving the titles to land after the acquisition of the Louisiana territory he was frequently a witness.

[21] Joseph Thompson received a militia donation at Vincennes and from there came to the Cape Girardeau district, and secured a land grant on Randall's creek and which he afterwards sold to Webb Hayden. Both Joseph Thompson senior and junior served in the Cape Girardeau Spanish militia company. In the war of 1812 a Joseph Thompson was a sergeant in Capt. William Daugherty's company from Cape Girardeau county.

[22] Came to the district in 1799 and settled on Ramsay's Creek. He sold his grant to William Strother.

[23] Samuel and William Strother were natives of Virginia. From the Ste. Genevieve church records it appears that William Strother was the son of Benjamin Strother and his wife Marie Davidson, and that he married Sylla Thompson, daughter of Jeremiah Thompson, in 1801.

[24] Benjamin Hargrove or Hartgrove came to the district in 1802. He settled on Whitewater, and subsequently sold his land to Ezekiel Able.

[25] The Hubble or Hubbel family came from New York. Ithamar Hubble was a soldier in the Revolutionary army in the New York line. The family settled on what is now known as Hubble creek, but then known as the Rivière Zenon, so named in honor of Zenon Trudeau. See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, pp. 185 et seq.

[26] Horace Austin settled on Whitewater, but sold out there to Dr. Dorsey. He is presumably the same Horace Austin, who was a merchant at Ste. Genevieve in 1810 and in 1819 a tavern-keeper at Herculaneum, then the county seat of Jefferson county. Also for a time was a merchant in St. Louis.

[27] Martin Rodney came to the district in 1798. He married a daughter of Don Louis Lorimier, the commandant of the post of Cape Girardeau.

[28] Came to the district in 1799 and settled on Hubble creek.

[29] It is not clear whether this William Murphy is the same who settled near the present Farmington, and immigrated from Tennessee. See Houck's History of Missouri, vol. i, p. 375. But the William Murphy on Whitewater had two sons, respectively named James and Frank, and these names do not correspond with the family names of the Farmington Murphys.

[30] Came to the Cape Girardeau district from Kaskaskia. Also lived in New Madrid in 1799.

[31] John Drybread, a German, named Drockenbrott, also in the Spanish Archives given as Toussanbrot and Toucanbroud. He was a brother of the Andreas in the New Madrid district. Lived on Hubble creek. See ante, p. 400, note 63.

[32] A German, probably named Ficht or Fichte, also a settler on Hubble creek.

[33] Loselay, or Losila, another German.

[34] This Franks was probably a trader. He received a concession in about 1798 near Whitewater river, not far from the present Allenville, but removed from there to Concordia parish in lower Louisiana. In 1810 he lived on Bayou Peidra, where his heirs claimed a tract of land on the road from Natchitoches to Nacogdoches, in what was then known as the neutral territory. He was ordered off the land both by the United States and Spanish forces. Franks died in 1812.

[35] He settled on Randall's creek in 1797.

[36] Came from Kentucky in 1798. One of the settlers of Cooper county, named Walter Burris, may be the same person.

[37] John Burrows served in the Spanish Cape Girardeau company in 1803.

[38] Came from Glasgow, Scotland, and first settled in what is now Pemiscot county and from there removed to the Cape Girardeau district.

[39] Hugh Cresswell settled on Randall's creek in 1797. A Michael Cresswell, a settler of New Bourbon, may have been a relative.

[40] Joseph Waller was a native of Tennessee. He settled on Randall's creek and secured a land grant.

[41] It is said that James Dowty was a German, but what German patronimic has been transformed into "Dowty" is hard to conjecture. A Zachariah Dowty on Hubble Creek may have been related to this James Dowty.

[42] Settled on Randall's creek in 1798. McKendree Chapel, the oldest Methodist meeting-house west of the Mississippi river, is located on this grant and the site was donated by him.

[43] Isaac Williams settled on the west fork of Cape la Cruz in 1803.

[44] Probably Drusilla Dickson, who had a settlement on the headwaters of Hubble creek.

[45] He settled on Whitewater in 1800.

[46] This name is probably the same as Tash, and who, in 1803, lived on Randall's creek.

[47] Thomas Bull was a native of Kentucky and settled on Hubble creek, not far from the present Gordonville. He was the first "writing clerk" of the first Protestant church west of the Mississippi, a Baptist church known as Bethel, and active in the organization of the congregation. He donated the ground upon which this church was built and the Baptists of Missouri in 1906 celebrated a centennial and erected a monument on the site. Although no church is standing there now, the ground is still the property of the Baptist church.

[48] William Daugherty was a son-in-law of Andrew Ramsay. In the war of 1812 he was captain of a company of Rangers. He was a brother-in-law of Capt. Peter Craig, who also married a daughter of Andrew Ramsay, and was killed at the battle of the Sinkhole with the Indians in what is now Lincoln county.

[49] Settled in the district in 1803.

[50] On Hubble creek in 1799.

[51] Green owned five slaves, a large slave owner for that time. He received a land grant on Hubble creek.

[52] Lived eight miles from the post of Cape Girardeau in 1803.

[53] This Mrs. Miller was probably the widow of James Miller, who lived on the upper Whitewater.

[54] Daniel Brant came to the New Madrid district in 1798 and in 1802 to the Cape Girardeau district and settled on Whitewater. He removed afterwards to Bayou Courtableau in lower Louisiana. A Joseph Brant in New Madrid perhaps was a relative.

[55] Settled near the present Jackson in 1798 and erected a mill on his grant, which faced Hubble creek. Before the Board of Land Commissioners he claimed that he had deposited his papers as a pledge at Natchez and from this I infer that this Jonathan Foreman was perhaps a descendant of Major Samuel S. Forman of Middleton Point, Monmouth county, New Jersey, a soldier of the Revolutionary war. A son of Maj. Forman, Gen. David Forman, lived at Natchez. Another son, Gen. Jonathan Foreman, was a resident of Cazenovia, New York.

[56] This name is also given as Earls. Came from Kentucky. Lived on Byrd's creek.

[57] Came to the district in 1798. Secured a concession to build a mill. He was a slave owner.

[58] Henry Hand came to the district in 1799 and settled near the present Jackson, on one of the prongs of Hubble creek, where he secured a concession.

[59] He was a member of the Spanish Military company.

[60] Col. Christopher Hays came from Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania, where he was a leading character during the Revolutionary war. He came west with Col. George Morgan. For particulars see Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, 112, 186, 192 et seq., and vol. iii, p. 83.

[61] Settled on Hubble creek.

[62] Charles Fallenash, well known in the early Indian wars in Ohio. For particulars, see Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 186, note 29.

[63] Hezekiah Dickson, settled on the forks of Hubble creek, so also Elijah Whitaker.

[64] Came to the district in 1799.

[65] On Byrd's creek.

[66] This James Cooper it seems removed to the St. Charles district, where he bought land from Antoine Marechal, and which, in 1807, was acquired by Edward Hempstead.

[67] David Patterson lived on Byrd's creek.

[68] The name of John Patterson found in St. Ferdinand, Cape Girardeau and at Little Prairie in the New Madrid district, but very likely different persons. The name also occurs among the residents of Kaskaskia. The John Patterson of Cape Girardeau served in the Spanish company.

[69] James and John Boyd settled near each other on Byrd and Caney creeks.

[70] Settled on Caney creek, where he cultivated some land in 1803. He sold his claim to Edward F. Bond, a native of Maryland, and who made a report of the condition of the district to Jefferson in 1805.

[71] He served in the Spanish company but did not make a claim for land for his services.

[72] On Byrd's creek.

[73] First settled on Byrd's creek, then moved to the St. Francois. He owned five slaves.

[74] Joseph, Philip and Morris Young, evidently members of the same family, settled on Byrd's creek.

[75] Came to the district in 1799 and claimed land on Byrd's creek. George Cavender, who lived on the Mississippi, was his son-in-law.

[76] Josiah Lee and son came from Kentucky in 1797 and settled on Hubble creek.

[77] It is not clear whether this William Russell, who settled in this district, is the surveyor William Russell, so well known as a land speculator and who afterwards lived in St. Louis. James Russell of Virginia, who was a member of the Cape Girardeau Spanish company, was related to William Russell and it is probable that he lived on Byrd creek during the Spanish dominion for a short time.

[78] The Bollinger family came from North Carolina in about 1799–1800. The Bollingers, Clingensmiths, Nyswangers, Bakers (Beckers), Probsts, Slinkers, Grunts, Stotlers, Cryts (Kreutz), Ashenbrenners, Hoss, Welkers, Aidingers, Lorrs, Hardells, Limbachs, Barks, Millers, and others, were Germans, or Swiss-Germans, members of the German Evangelical Reformed church, and all settled on the upper branches of Whitewater and in 1804, when the Louisiana province was acquired by the United States, formed a compact and prosperous settlement.

[79] Sold his claim to William Strother. He was a native of Virginia, and from the Cape Girardeau district moved to the St. Louis district.

[80] Fred Limbaugh or Limbach, a German school teacher among the German settlers.

[81] John Guething was a German carpenter, and employed by Lorimier in and about Public works of the district, and also acted as bailiff for him.

[82] First settled at New Madrid. He was a saddler.

[83] Settled on Whitewater.

[84] On the St. Francois in 1802.

[85] Came from Kentucky and owned slaves.

[86] Settled ten miles from Cape Girardeau.

[87] Ezekiel Block, or Bloch, a German Jew, came to upper Louisiana from Richmond, Virginia, shortly before the cession.

[88] First lived in the New Madrid district. Perhaps the same as Anderson Rodgers, one of the first members of Bethel church.

[89] Settled on the waters of Giboney's creek in 1802.

[90] John Hays was a son of Col. Christopher Hays, and appointed the first sheriff of Cape Girardeau district after the cession. He held various other public offices, was Receiver of the Jackson Land office. When the first steamer went up the Mississippi he resided on a farm just below the mouth of Apple creek.

[91] As to the Berthiaumes, see ante, p. 393, note 53.

[92] Came to the district in 1797 and acquired the land of Mary Fitz-Gibbons, on Giboney's creek. Also owned land near Lithium in the Ste. Genevieve district. Was a soldier in the Spanish Cape Girardeau company.

[93] See ante, note 75.

[94] Settled on the so-called "Illinois road" leading from New Madrid to St. Louis. The Scott county Poor Farm is now located on this tract of land. As to the Friend family, see Houck's History of Missouri, vol. ii, p. 153.

[95] Settled on the Mississippi not far from the present town of Commerce.

[96] William Ross settled at what is now known as "Gray's Point," but at first known as a "Cape la Cruz," and then as "Ross's Point." Rev. John Mason Peck stopped here when he came up the river and delivered a sermon.

[97] Settled on the Mississippi, where the Thebes Bridge now spans the river.

[98] On Caney creek in 1798. He owned several slaves and was an immigrant from Kentucky. Charles Sexton, who was the drummer of the Spanish Cape Girardeau company, was a relative.

[99] Came from Virginia in 1797.

[100] Settled in Tywappity bottom, and was the owner of nine slaves.

[101] Robert Quimby came from Virginia. He was a (forgeron) blacksmith at the foot of the hills, about 35 miles north of New Madrid, near where the Friends lived on the "Illinois road." Stephen Quimby and Josiah Quimby, who lived five miles below Cape Girardeau, were his relatives.

[102] This is Sarah Williamson, who had a claim on the Mississippi river.

[103] Lived near the river in the Tywappity bottom below Commerce.

[104] At Bird's point, and sold his claim there to Bird and moved to Rapides Parish in lower Louisiana.

[105] He came to the province from Tennessee in 1797, and settled near the present Thebes Bridge. He also had grant on the upper end of Tywappity bottom, which he sold to John Ordway, who was a sergeant in the Lewis and Clark Expedition to the Pacific Ocean, and on his return settled on this land. He died here and his estate was administered in New Madrid county.

[106] Charles Finlay had a claim on Bayou in Tywappity bottom, "five leagues below Cape Girardeau." He also acquired the claim on Fish Lake of Reason Bowie, when he moved to lower Louisiana. Finlay was the first settler in the prairie, where the present Charleston is located. He came to the district from Vincennes, where he settled in 1786, and remained about six months, then moved to Kentucky and afterwards came back with the Kentucky militia under Col. Hamtramck in 1790.

[107] This Jacob Lens afterwards at Marias des Liards, in the St. Louis district.

[108] Lived in the Tywappity bottom.

[109] In the Tywappity bottom.

[110] Lived on the Grand Marais, or Big Swamp, about six miles southwest of Cape Girardeau.

[111] Settled in "Prairie Charles," afterwards known as "Mathews Prairie," where Charleston is now located.

[112] Settled on the Mississippi, below the Ohio, at a place yet known as "Lucas' Bend." He was a slave owner. This Charles Lucas should not be confounded with the Charles Lucas, who was killed in duel by Benton, the son of Judge J. B. C. Lucas.

[113] Resided at the head of the Tywappity bottom, near the present town of Commerce.

[114] Name spelled also Welborn. This family it seems also settled near the present Commerce and the town was laid out by one of that name.

Resumen del Padron General de los Establecimientos de la Alta Luisiana, con expreciones de los Nacidos, Matrimonios y muertos, Animales y Produciones de este presente Año de mil ocho cientos.

Nombres de los Pueblos	Blancos Hombres	Blancos Hombres	Blancos Hombres	Blancos Mugeres	Blancos Mugeres	Blancos Mugeres	Libres Pardos Hombres	Libres Pardos Hombres	Libres Pardos Hombres	Libres Pardos Mugeres	Libres Pardos Mugeres	Libres Pardos Mugeres	Libres Negros Hombres	Libres Negros Hombres	Libres Negros Hombres	Libres Negros Mugeres	Libres Negros Mugeres	Libres Negros Mugeres	Esclavos Pardos Hombres	Esclavos Pardos Hombres	Esclavos Pardos Hombres	Esclavos Pardos Mugeres	Esclavos Pardos Mugeres	Esclavos Pardos Mugeres	Esclavos Negros Hombres	Esclavos Negros Hombres	Esclavos Negros Hombres	Esclavos Negros Mugeres	Esclavos Negros Mugeres	Esclavos Negros Mugeres	Total de Personas en cada Pueblo	Matrimonios	Nacidos	Muertos	Animales Bacunos	Cavallos	Trigo (Minots)	Maiz (Minots)	Tabaco (Libras)	Lino y Cañamo (Libras)	Algodon (Libras)	Plomo (Libras)	Sal (Minots)	Azucar de arbol (Libras)	Aguardiente (Galones)
S.n Luis	110	390	21	117	160	11	11	17	1	12	12	1	-	1	1	-	1	6	29	30	6	31	37	2	26	36	11	10	61	10	1,039				1,006	106	7,006	9,218	2,800	-	-	-	-	-	-
Carondelet	41	31	21	33	31	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	-	192				200	40	3,200	2,900	1,100	-	-	-	-	-	-
Distrito de la Punta de los Rios Missisipy y Missoury	60	30	13	61	42	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	2	3	-	237	37	120	33	300	109	970	10,800	1,100	4,730	3,490	-	-	-	-
Idm del Rio Maramec	21	36	11	20	25	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	129				229	40	200	6,100	6,980	-	-	-	50	-	-
S.n Fernando	40	60	20	47	38	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	-	4	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	2	279				260	60	1,900	2,269	900	-	-	-	-	-	-
Distrito del Marais des Liards	42	41	7	42	31	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4	-	2	-	-	2	11	2	4	6	-	298	4	26	2	686	108	2,370	14,680	6,200	2,800	1,800	-	-	-	-
S.n Carlos del Misoury	110	172	55	109	166	18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	2	1	4	2	1	4	6	1	-	9	2	611				780	128	3,786	14,380	6,100	1,200	1,802	-	-	800	-
Portage des Sioux	20	28	2	22	26	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	102	14	26	9	210	40	700	4,820	966	200	160	-	-	50	-
Distrito del Rio aux Cuivres	36	41	5	36	37	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	3	-	3	4	-	180				242	62	280	5,976	1,100	800	1,196	-	-	-	-
S.n Andres	90	93	2	60	65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	1	-	12	10	-	11	12	-	380	5	20	97	624	149	1,163	12,966	2,776	2,062	2,850	-	-	963	-
Distrito del Rio Femme Osage	50	49	3	40	50	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	3	6	-	1	11	-	211				405	96	100	3,200	-	1,790	1,220	-	-	944	-
S.te Genevieve	196	256	9	190	192	3	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	20	21	-	14	19	-	30	91	7	30	37	4	1,163				1,801	309	11,866	21,916	6,816	325	1,266	200,000	4,000	1,228	-
N.vo Borbon	111	124	12	94	110	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	6	1	-	6	1	-	22	16	3	22	22	1	620	11	70	37	1,071	111	1,970	19,780	30	2,000	2,130	38,800	14,800	1,679	-
Cabo Girardeau	137	102	22	137	137	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	26	36	1	11	26	-	520				1,181	276	1,600	29,700	300	4,730	11,010	-	-	-	-
Totales de las 3 Edades	1,069	1,556	212	1,010	1,422	56	17	17	1	14	12	1	-	1	2	-	1	9	66	52	9	63	46	3	127	246	31	129	79	19															
N.vo Madrid	567			421			-			-			-			-			-			-			59			59			806	12	18	11	1,472	242	1,200	22,996	4,100	14,930	14,800	-	-	-	1,016
Totales por cada Sexos	3,460			2,236			35			27			3			12			166			120			171			182			6,911	51	397	82	14,179	2,038	31,726	166,020	40,103	33,856	29,160	238,800	18,120	16,166	1,016

Resumen de las Produciones que en el Curso del mismo Año se han transportado a la Capital, con el Valor de Ellas en el Pays.

1,083.	Paquetes de Venado	a 40 p.s	43,320.
46.	Paquetes de Cibolo	a 30 Id.	1,380.
122,772.	de Plomo en Galena	a el valor	7,366.
42,400.	Harina	a 30 Id.	392.
			52,458.

pesos

[illegible]

Nota.

No Comprehende conforme el Comandante del Nuevo Madrid, el modelo q.e le fue pasado, como a todos los demas Comandantes, no se ha podido distinguir las tres clases de edad q.e existen en aquel Puesto [illegible]

[illegible]

Delassus

S.n Luis de Los Ylinueses treinta y uno de Diciembre de este presente Año de mil ochocientos.

Antonio Soulard

V.o B.no

Delassus

INDEX

No attempt has been made to correct or change the spelling of the names as found in the records. It has not been necessary to make reference to every page on which a particular name may be found. Some names, too, have been entirely omitted.

A

Abernathy, John, ii, 404; note 45 as to, 410
Abreu, Manuel, an apprentice, i, 45
Abuse of power, possible by Spanish officials, i, 290, 291
Acadiens, families of, expected, i, 27; expelled from Acadia by the English, 27
Acadien coast, i, 27
Accounts of expenditures for Morgan, i, 312
Adaver, Jacobo, ii, 394
Adelmar, or Bellmar, i, 123
Advances, to traders, hunters and merchants limited, i, 249
Administration, of Upper Louisiana described by Trudeau, ii, 257
Advantages of freedom of religion in Louisiana, to, i, 289
Agriculture, i, 71; to be promoted, 239; by building mills, 407; amount of land to be assigned to immigrants for, 156; provisions to be assigned to settlers intending to follow, 156; tools for, to be supplied to immigrants, 156; near Fort Carondelet, effect on savages, ii, 102
Agricultural products of Louisiana, ii, 11
Aguas Bajas, name of Wabash, i, 146
Agypousetchy, ii, 321
Aid, to be given immigrants, i, 152
Aidinger, Christopher, ii, 406
Aime, Charles, i, 94, note 16 as to 96; ii, 365; note 17 as to, 369
Aioas, i, 176
Akanzas, i, 149, 215, 218, 227, 229, 232
Akiens, Hugh, i, 337; note as to, i, 341
Assembly, slaves not allowed to hold an, at night, i, 244
Albisad, Francisco, i, 336; note 42 as to, 340
Alcanzas, (see Akanzas)
Alcudia, Duke of, letter to, ii, 103, 110
Aleman, Cristobal, ii, 378; note 149 as to, ii, 286
Allain, Zenon, ii, 343
Allegiance, list of oaths of, at New Madrid, i, 334
Alley, John, i, 337
Alley, Thomas, i, 337
Alley, William, i, 337
Allowance, to French.German and Spanish immigrants, i, 155
Alston, Juan, i, 220, 228
Alvarez, Eugenio, ii, 270, 298, 296; storekeeper, 311, address to the Indians, 303, 376; note 80 as to, 383
Alvarez, Don Juan Manuel, ii, 259
Ambition of Americans, not limited to free navigation of Mississippi, ii, 12
American attack, suspected on St. Louis and New Madrid, ii, 259
Americans, fear of invasion by, i, xx; perfect relationship to be maintained with, i, 172; Cruzat reports, have almost abandoned the Illinois, i, 180; attack Indians below New Madrid, i, 316; advance west with incredible rapidity, ii, 10; threaten to invade Louisiana, 11; unmeasured ambition of, 11; cannot be prevented from crossing the Mississippi, 13; how little need to begin in a new country, 12; threaten to settle at Barrancas á Margot, 18; danger of allowing them a port on the Mississippi, 19; reported at the mouth of Cumberland river, to embark, 63; those who have flour and bacon to sell to be received by the Spanish commandants, 75; rumor that 200 from Kaskaskia are about to cross the river, 78; rumor that they would destroy Cape Girardeau, 92; those settled in Upper Louisiana, behave well, 256; invasion of, feared in 1800, 285
American deserters, take refuge at Ste Genevieve, i, 179
American families, arrive at Natchez, i, 218
American forts, if built on the Mississippi, make necessary forts at St. Louis, ii, 257
American Immigrants, in upper Louisiana, live in comfort, i, xxi
American Settlement, on Mississippi, i, 413; on east side of Mississippi, ii, 255

Ammunition, Indians to be supplied with part of, i, 206
Amount advanced by Carondelet, to Tardiveau for mills repaid, i, 409
Andreville, Andre, ii, 299
Anglo-Americans, character of, as estimated by Gayoso, ii, 7
Annat, meaning of, i, 112
Aouikaniska, a Shawnee, arrives from the iron mines at Cape Girardeau, ii, 66
Aguas Frias, or Coldwater, i, 166
Aranda, Count of, biographical notice of, i, 359; note 1
Aranjuez, i, 133
Aranst, Joseph, ii, 393; note 6 as to, 398
Arast, Juan, ii, 393; note 19 as to, 398
Arat, John, i, 337; note 91 as to, 341
Archambeau, Francisco, ii, 395; note 114 as to, 402
Archer, Sampson, widow of, ii, 396
Arguments, made by Carondelet, explaining mill contract, i, 405
Arlait, M., i, 93; note 4 as to, 95
Artifone, Pierre, i, 54
Arizabal, Ventura, i, 336; note 25 as to, 339
Armirez, Don Manuel Gonzales, official of the chief accountancy of army, ii, 216
Arms, citizens to provide, to carry against treacherous Indians i, 242; ii, 345, 346
Arrell, James, ii, 405; note 56 as to, 411
Arill, Samuel, ii, 395; note 3 as to, 411
Articles of Association, adopted by the Spanish Commercial company, ii, 150
Artillery, how shall be mounted in forts on Missouri, i, 8; supplies for, i, 205; arrives at New Madrid, ii, 81; delivered at New Orleans in, 344
Asabande, a chief of the Shawnees, ii, 54
Ashabranner, Daniel, ii, 406
Attack of St. Louis, i, xvi; i, 167
Attack, in case of sudden, how militia of St. Louis to defend post, i, 241
Attack of St. Louis and New Madrid suspected, ii, 259
Attakapas, i, 155
Aubernois, Antonio, ii, 394; note 56 as to, 400
Aveline, Laurenzo, ii, 394; note 48 as to, 399
Ayetan, or Otoes, i, 54
Ayme, Carlos, (see Aime)
Ayooua, i, 44 (see Aioas)
Azor, Francisco, ii, 368; note 73 as to, 372

B

Babeta, ii, 368
Baby, Louis, ii, 397; note 131 as to, 402
Baccane, i, 56; note 31 as to, 58; note 14 as to, 90
Bacon, can be sold by Americans on west side of river, ii, 75
Badger, Andrew, i, 320, 321
Baduen, Jos., i, 188; note 134 as to, 196
Bahama Islands, captured by Spaniards, i, 212
Bailie, Alexander, ii, 407; note as to, 413
Baker, to be taken to Missouri forts from New Orleans, i, 22
Baker, Joseph, ii, 405
Balboa, Jose, a bricklayer, i, 2
Balafre, principal chief of the Little Osages, i, 142, 201; killed, 202
Balisa, or Balize, i, 28, 233
Balle, or Valle, Carlos, i, 185; note 48 as to, 192
Balls, plain, ii, 345, 347
Banish, Jeremiah, ii, 406
Banner, royal, shall be unfurled, with what ceremony at Missouri forts, i, 10
Banners, English, introduced on the Missouri. i, 175.
Barbier, Jose, i, 335
Barada, Louis, i, 188, biographical notice of, 196; ii, 376; note 82 as to, 383
Barge of L'Abadie, captured by robbers, on Mississippi, i, 214
Barks, Handel, ii, 406
Barks, Jacob, ii, 406
Barno y Ferrusola, at New Madrid, ii, 124
Barlow, Joel, promotes the Scioto Society, i, 361
Baronet, A. F. (Papin) i, 54
Barracks, ~~in forts, size~~ of, i, 50; in St. Louis necessary, 348; to be built of cedar wood, 348; rent of in St. Louis, 80; building of, in St. Louis recommended, 125; examined by experts, 270
Barrancas à Margot, i, 217, 224; Madame Cruzat captured at, 225, 229, 231, 410; ii, 115, 119, 120; new settlement at, 111

Barras, Don Francisco, his ability, ii, 125, 130
Barrera, Francisco, i, 189, note 147 as to, 196; ii, 374; note 45 as to, 381
Barrera, Pablo, deserting storekeeper, i, 39
Barrels of Flour, under contract with Tardiveau, i, 379; price of, i, 379
Barre, Estaban, i, 93
Barry, Juan, ii, 395
Baraslou, or Barsaloux, i, 38, 56; biographical note 11 as to 57, 88, 94
Barsalou, Louis, i, 337; note 75 as to, 340
Barsalou, Juan Baptiste, i, 320; note 10 as to, 321; ii, 394; note 42 as to, 399, 321, 320 88, 94
Barsalou, Nicolas, i, 102
Basedonio, Lorenzo, i, 184
Basor, Basilio, i, 185
Basor, Jos., i, 185
Bastions, how to be constructed, i, 51
Baton Rouge, 217, 226, 233; material from Upper Louisiana, arrives at, ii, 337, 344
Baubais, Carlos, i, 88; note 26 as to, i, 90
Bauri, Estavan, father-in-law of Foucher, ii, 210, 215, 216
Bauvais, Maturin, ii, 389; note 36 as to, 392
Baviny, Madame, i, 328; note 18 as to, 330
Bayona, Louis, i, 251
Bayou, Pierre, ii, 6
Beadle, dressed in uniform, i,, 117; pay of, 122
Beauchamp, Juan Baptiste, ii, 388; note 16 as to, 390
Beaufrere, Pierre, i, 187; biographical notice of, 193; note 83
Beaugard, Jacobo, ii, 394; note 69 as to, 400
Beaugenou, Nicolas, i, 94, 102, 167; note 96 as to, 194; ii, 375; note 66 as to, 382
Beauregard, Don Elias, ii, 116
Beaurossier, see Dunagant
Beauvais, i, 122
Beauvais, Carlos, i, 94
Beauvais, Juan Baptista, ii, 343
Beauvais, St. Jemme, ii, 66, 365; note 2 as to, 369
Beauvais, Vital, ii, 82, 367
Beancur, Joseph, i, 188; note 123 as to, 195
Bechu, i, 102
Becquet, i, 38, 88, 94
Becquet, Francisco, i, 338; note 100 as to, 341
Becquet, Gabriel, ii, 376; note 76 as to, 383
Beginning, Carondelet describes, of western Americans, ii, 12
Belan, Juan Baptista, ii, 389; note 28 as to, 391
Belemard, i, 88; note 37 as to, 91;
Belhumor, Pedro, i, 187
Belmare, Charles, ii, 366; note 30 as to, 370
Bellemar, i, 56, 95; note 37 as to, 98
Belson Matias, ii, 339
Belestre, Mons., trades with Osages, i, 139, 213
Belestre, Don Pedro, i, 102; note 13 as to, 104
Belestre, Picote de, praised by Galvez, i, 173
Belestre, Don Louis, ii, 376; note 88 as to, 383
Belpecher, Antonio, i, 187; note 82 as to, 193
Beno, Louis, i, 185; note 45 as to, 192
Benoit, F. M. ii, 97, 216
Bentley, a trader in Kaskaskia, i, 179
Bequet, i, 56; biographical notice, 58
Bequet, Charles, ii, 367
Bequet, Gabriel, i, 188
Bequet, Jean Baptiste, i, 102; ii, 366, 375
Bequet, Joseph, ii, 367
Bequet, Pierre, i, 188; note 131 as to, 196
Bequet el Herrero, i, 56; note 14 as to, 58
Bequette, the miller, i, 94
Berard, Antonio, i, 54, 55
Bergand, Charles, i, 329; note as to, 331
Bergenon, Jose, i, 337; note 77 as to, 341
Berger, Joseph, i, 188; biographical note of, 196; note 143
Bermard, Estaban, ii, 388; note 11 as to, 390
Bermudez, Jose, ii, 216
Bernabe, Fray, i, 115 (Bernard)
Bernardo, Jose, sergeant in the Spanish service, i, 335; note 13 as to, 338
Bernie, Pedro, i, 186
Bernier, Francisco, i, 95; note 29 as to, 98, 102, 188; ii, 365; note 12 as to, 369
Beron, Esteban, i, 188; note [illegible] as to, 195
Berron, Francisco, i, 56; note 47 as to, 59

Bertelet, Louis, ii, 389; note 31 as to, 391
Berthelot, a distiller, i, 396
Berthiaumes, traders, at Cape Girardeau, in 1793, ii, 62
Berthiaume, Francois, canoe sent by, ii, 92, 407; note 91 as to, 412; 394, note 53 as to, 399
Berthiaume, Hyacinthe, ii, 394
Berthiaume, Joseph, ii, 394
Bertrand, Alexis, ii, 87; note 72
Bethun, stirred up the rabble at Natchez, i, 230
Bibaren Baptiste, or Vifvarrene, i, 184; note 10 as to, i, 190
Bienvenu, dit DeLisle, ii, 66; note 31
Big Osages, trade in 1777 with, i, 139; number of in 1777, 144; trade with 149; outrages by, 150; on the St. Francois, in 1785, 251
Billeron, Leonard, i, 54, dit LaFatigue
Billeron, Marianna, i, 54
Binette, Jean Baptiste, i, 328, 329
Birin, F., i, 337; note 62 as to, 340
Biscuit, to be made, i, 380; price of at New Orleans and Havanna, 383
Bishop of Louisiana, ii, 220
Bissel, Daniel, takes possession of New Madrid, ii, 331, 332
Bisset, or Bizet, Charles, i, 88; note 10 as to, 90, 94
Bisonet, i, 56, 58, 88; note 16 as to, i, 90 , 94
Bissonette, Francois, i, 185; biographical note of, i, 192; note 64
Bissonette, Juana, ii, 373; note 18 as to, 379
Bissonette, Louis, trade with the Little Osages, i, 139
Bissonette, Maria, widow, ii, 373; note 5 as to, 379
Bissonette, Pedro or Pierre, i, 102, 192; ii, 388; note 24 as to, 391
Blackbird, a Maha chief, biographical notice of, ii, 184; note 4
Blanchette, Louis, ii, 388; note 1 as to, 390
Blay, Charles, ii, 378; note 138 as to, 385
Block, Andres, ii, 395
Block, Ezekiel, ii, 406; note 87 as to, 412
Blockhouse, at mouth of Missouri, i, xvii; size of on the north side of river, i, 51, 63
Blommar, i, 228, 229, 233
Blaumart Juan, offers to consider himself a prisoner of war, i, 220
Blomart, Jacob, i, 219
Blount, Gen., with sacks of money, ii, 28
Boats, number of in expedition up to the Missouri, i, 1; names of in 1772, carrying furs to New Orleans, 55; to be examined for brandy before starting on voyages into the Indian country, 15; of Pourèe captured, i, 213; arrive at Cape Girardeau, ii, 87
Bodoin, Jean, i, 187; note 92 as to, 194
Bodoin, Joseph, i, 188, 196; ii, 375; note, 54 as to, 381, 377; note 125 as to, 384
Bodoin, Louis, i, 188; note 133 as to, 196
Bogard, or Beaugard
Bogard, Joseph, i, 336
Bogard, William, i, 337
Bogy, Joseph, ii, 342
Boice, Joseph, ii, 293
Bois Brule, settlement of Shawnees there, ii, 42, 86
Bois, Louis, ii, 366; note 40 as to, 370
Boissy, Joseph, i, 329
Bolduc, Louis, i, 57, 88; note 36 as to, 91, 93, 95, 101, 103; ii, 365; note 21 as to, 370
Boligny, Mons., ii,90, see biographical note 84
Bollinger, Daniel, ii, 406
Bollinger, George Frederick, ii, 405; note 78 as to, 412
Bollinger, Henry, ii, 406
Bollinger, John, ii, 406
Bollinger, Matthias, ii, 406
Bolon, Hypolite, ii, 293; note 13 as to, 295, 366; note 25 as to, 370, 397
Bolse (Volsay), i, 56; note 36 as to, 59
Bolson, Matias, ii, 338
Bombarde, i, 56; note 32 as to, 59
Boner, William, ii, 403
Bonfinan. Nicolas, i, 88; note 12 as to, 90, (see Beaugenou
Bonneau, a workman, suffocates, ii, 67
Bonneau, Charles, i, 328; note 19 as to, 330; ii, 394; note 46 as to, 399
Bonneau, Nicolas, i, 328
Bony, Francisco, ii, 343
Bonhson, James, i, 337; note 84 as to, 341
Bordeleau, Michel, i, 328, 330
Boris, Louis, ii, 375; note 50 as to, 381
Borrosie, Francisco, i, 185; note 44 as to, 192

Bostoneses, Canadians forced to bear arms against, **i,** 154
Bouche, or Boucher, **i,** 123
Boucher, Louis, **i,** 87; note 3 as to, 89, 94
Boucher, Jacques Timothe de, **i,** 198
Boucher, Pierre, **i,** 198
Bougard, Basilio, **i,** 338; note 99 as to, 341
Bouis, Antoine Vincent, biographical notice of, 193
Bouligny, Francisco, colonel of Louisiana regiment, **i,** 371
Boundary, between England and Spain on the Mississippi, **i,** 22
Bourisse, Francois, **i,** 185; note 44 as to, 192
Boury, or Bouri, Louis, **i,** 188; note 132 as to, 196
Boteler, or Butler, Enrique, **ii,** 377, note 114 as to, 384
Botton, Guillermo, **ii,** 396; note 126 as to, 402
Bowden, Jesse, **ii,** 407; note 104 as to, 412
Bowen, Jacobo, **ii,** 396
Bowles, captured by Rousseau, **ii,** 325
Boyd, James. **ii,** 405; note 69 as to, 411
Boyd, John, **ii,** 406
Boyer, Andres, **i,** 328
Boyer, Charles, **ii,** 368; note 71 as to, 372
Boyer, Francisco, **i,** 328; note as to, 330
Boyer, Jacques, **ii,** 78
Boyer, Joseph, **ii,** 368; note 65 as to, 371
Boyer, Nicolas, **i,** 56; note 45 as to, 59, 88, 95; **ii,** 365; note 14 as to, 389
Boyer, Santiago, **ii,** 367; note as to, 371
Boyer, Santos, **i,** 328; note as to, 331
Boye, Guillermo, a sailor, **i,** 45
Boyle, Philip, **i,** 335
Bradley, Samuel, **ii,** 403; note 8 as to, 408
Brandy, not given men on expedition up to the Missouri, **i,** 3; not to be sold to the savages, **i,** 5; trade in, 72: preferred by the Indians to goods, 74
Brant, Daniel, **ii,** 405; note 54 as to, 410
Brazeau, Joseph, **ii,** 299, 374
Brazeau, Madame, **ii,** 376; note 93 as to, 383
Breard A., **i,** 337; note 59 as to, 340
Breby, Feruel, **ii,** 395; note 102 as to, 401
Breda, Luis, **i,** 188, note 128 as to, 196
Brenier, Pedro, **ii,** 365; note 20 as to, 369
Brick, made out of adobe, **i,** 27; price to be paid for making, 7
Bridges, Samuel, **ii,** 293; note 16 as to, 295
Brigpohe, Ignacio, **i,** 185
Brothers, savages to be treated as, **i,** 10
Brouillet, Louis, **i,** 328, 329
Brown, Francisco, **ii,** 397
Brucaigais, an Osage chief, **i,** 254
Brucieres, Jean Baptiste, **i,** 188; note 126 as to, 195
Bruiet, Francisco, **i,** 337; note 80 as to, 341
Bruner, Manuel, **ii,** 377; note 121 as to, 384
Brunet, Antonio, **i,** 188
Brunet, Louis, **i,** 187; note 112 as to, 195
Brunet, Noel, **i,** 185; note 35 as to, 191
Bruyno, Col., **ii,** 6
Bryan, Sieur, a Kaskaskia merchant, **i,** 87
Bruxieras, Jean Baptiste, **ii,** 388, note 10 as to, 390;
Buchart, **i,** 56; note 33 as to, 59
Buchere, Louis, **i,** 103
Buel, Louis, **ii,** 389; note 37 as to, 392
Buer, **i,** 56; note 35 as to, 59
Bull, Thomas, **ii,** 404; note 47 as to, 410
Building, mills, disapproved, **i,** 405
Buildings, royal, at New Madrid, valuation of, **ii,** 336
Burgnignon, Manuel, **ii,** 365; note 6 as to, 369
Burk, Stephen, **i,** 335
Burnet, Noel, biographical notice of, **i,** 191
Burney, Guillaume, **ii,** 294
Burney, Nicolas, **i,** 329
Burnes, Benny, **ii,** 294
Burnes, Jaque, **ii,** 293
Burnes, Miguel, **i,** 337; **ii,** 293
Burns, Barnabas, **i,** 337; note 95 as to, 341
Burns, James, **i,** 338
Buron, Augustine, **i,** 195
Burrows, John, **ii,** 404; note 37 as to, 410
Burrows, Mrs. Walter, **ii,** 404; note 35 as to, 410

Burry, Louis, i, 188; note 132 as to, 196
Buru, George, i, 336; note 44 as to, 340
Buys, ii, 405; note 71 as to, 411
Buzenet, J., i, 337
Byrd, Abraham, senior, ii, 403; note 12 as to, 408
Byrd, Abraham, junior, ii, 405
Byrd, Amos, ii, 405
Byrd, John, ii, 405
Byrd, Stephen, ii, 405

C

Caballerias, a Spanish land measure, i, 9; note 12
Cabanne, Denis, ii, 375; note 62 as to, 382
Cabaziere, Joseph, ii, 378; note 151 as to, 386
Cabins, slaves not allowed to leave them, at night, i, 244
Caddos, or Caudochos, i, 251, 257
Cagigal, Don Manuel de, i, 212
Cahatonga, see Les Cheveux Blancs, ii, 308
Cahokia, i, xvii, situation of described, i, 65
Caida, Francisco, i, 189
Cain, Jesse, ii, 404; note 50 as to, 410
Cale, Joseph, i, 184; note 25 as to, 190
Callaven, Jean, ii, 293
Calve, Joseph, i, 88; note 23 as to, 90, 94; biographical notice of, 190; ii, 377; note 116 as to, 384
Calve, Joseph, junior, biographical notice of, i, 190
Cayole, Francisco, i, 334; note 3 as to, 338
Cambas, Juan Baptiste, i, 186; note 66 as to, 192
Campbell, Anna, widow, ii, 375; note 51 as to, 382
Campbell, William, ii, 343
Campeat, Joseph, i, 328; note 35 as to, 331
Campeau, Paul, i, 188; note 113 as to, 195
Campeche, i, 199
Campo de la Esperanza, ii, 298, 336, 340
Campo, Pablo, i, 188; note 113 as to, 195
Camps, soldiers and men to remain in, on expedition up to the Missouri, i, 4
Canada, ceded by France, i, xv; supposed attack of, by France, ii, 128
Canadian French, immigration, approved by King, i, 154
Cannons, danger of, furnishing to Indians, ii, 21, 344; iron, 346
Cannonshot, rumored to have been heard at the mouth of Cumberland, ii, 74
Canoes, being built at Cape Girardeau, ii, 64
Cantara, Baptiste, i, 186
Canzes, or Canse. i, 44; trade with in 1777, 139; number of in 1777, 142
Cape Cinque Hommes, northern limit of Morgan's grant, i, 275, 279, 284, 310
Cape Haytien, i, 212
Cape Francoise, various names of, i, 212
Cape Girardeau, savages at, i, xviii; established during the Genet agitation, xxii; Trudeau's report concerning, ii, 247
Captain Allen, or Takinantha, Delaware chief, ii, 321
Capuchin's House, negresses and mulatresses allowed there, i, 118
Carbine, sufficient, with a little cornmeal, for an American to range the forest for months, ii, 12
Cardinal, trades with Little Osages, i, 139
Cardinal, Charles, ii, 388; note 17 as to, 390
Carither, Jacob, ii, 406
Carmichel, George, ii, 341
Carolina, i, 226
Carondelet, arrests Collet at New Orleans, i, xxiii; report of population in 1791 by, 324; report of number of slaves, 325, 372; knows DeLassus, 375; letter of in regard to flour contract and French immigration, 377; is charged with 2,500 pesos advanced to promote immigration, 396; is charged with money advanced to build mills, 396; assumes liability on account of money advanced to build mills, 397; petitions to be relieved, 398; released from payment of sum advanced to promote immigration, 398; makes representations in regard to building mills, 406, 414; ii, 2; grants Munier the exclusive trade with the Ponkas for four years, 3; his view of the military condition of Louisiana, 9; gives a sketch of the rise of the western people, 12; his opinion of the Americans, 13;

military plans to protect Louisiana, 14, 20; letter to Robertson in regard to furnishing Indians cannons, 21, 25; comments on weakness of American government, 25; writes Lorimier warning him not to trade with the Americans on the Ohio, 51; letter of in regard to Osages, 100; reports fort among the Osages finished, 102; recommends a fort among the Osages, 103; describes the danger of an American fort at Barrancas à Margot, 111; his letter in regard to Indian affairs, 113; appoints Howard military commandant of upper Louisiana, 122; supposes that the French will attack the English in Canada, 128; makes a report of his plans for the expedition to upper Louisiana, 136; population in 1796 as reported by him, 141; slaves in 1796 in upper Louisiana, 142; production of the country, 143; letter to Godoy, 181; danger of an American invasion of the Missouri, 181; approves the incorporation of the commercial company, 160-1-2-3; letter in regard to the company, 162; recommends settlement of Foucher's accounts, 209; attests Foucher's statement, 216; letter to Godoy in regard to the threatened English attack on St. Louis and upper Louisiana, 225; on importance of St. Louis, 231

Carondelet, river of, i, 410; ii, 115

Carondelet, village of described by Trudeau, ii, 249

Carpenter, Conrad, ii, 396; note 130 as to, ii, 402

Carpentier, or Charpentier, Henri, i, 56; note 57 as to, 57, 88, 94, 102, 122

Carriere, Jose, ii, 213

Carrion, Claude, or Carron, i, 56; note 48 as to, 59, 103; note 50 as to, 106

Carron, chief of the Menominees, i, 145

Carron, Clement, i, 95; note 27 as to, 97

Carron, Estaban, i, 88

Carron, Juan Baptiste, i, 328; ii, 396

Cartabona, Don Sylvio Francisco de, de Oro, 168, 169, 170; biographical sketch of, 171; letter to Galvez, 173, 177, 182, 205

Cartridges, empty, ii, 348

Carts, not allowed to be left on the streets of St. Louis, i, 243

Carudine, Parker, i, 220

Casa-Calvo, Marquis of, ii, 287; biography of, note 2; 307, 308, 310, 331, 337, 343, 344, 355

Casa-Grande, Jose, i, 334; note 6 as to, 338

Casa y Luengo, Francisco, 341,342

Castor, or Beaver Skins, payment made in, ii, 75

Casvan, Tuillaume, ii, 294

Catalin, Charaouons, ii, 396; note 124 as to, 402

Catholics, to be received as immigrants, i, 239; a great number of Germans are, 288

Catholic female orders, raise and educate Indian girls, i, 16

Caulk, Thomas W., ii, 396; note 123 as to, 402

Cavenagts, Santiago, ii, 396; note 124 as to, 402

Cavender, George, ii, 407, note 93 as to, 412

Cayu, i, 102; note 33 as to, 105

Cazadores, or hunters, i, 215

Caze, Joseph, i, 186

Census, statistical, i, xix; first detailed Spanish, 53; to be made annually, 82; form of, 84-5; second census taken in 1774, 86; third Spanish, 92; fourth Spanish in 1775, 100; of 1791 made by Trudeau, 322; abstract of general census of 1800 made by De Lassus, ii, 414; of Ste. Genevieve, 365; of St. Louis, 373; of St. Charles, 388; of Maramec and Plattin, 387; of New Madrid, 393; of Cape Girardeau, 403

Ceremonies, to be observed on unfurling royal banners at forts on Missouri, i, 10

Cerre, Gabriel, i, 177, 179, 184; biographical notice of, 190, 205; ii, 73, 75, 370; note 26 as to, 380

Cerre, Pascal, ii, 299, 311

Cespedes, Francisco, a carpenter, i, 43

Cevallos, Don Pedro, letter to, ii, 336, 358

Chancelier, i, 88; note 21 as to, 90, 94, 102

Chancelier, Jos., i, 56; biographical notice 17 as to, 58, 184; note 16 as to, 190

Chancelier, Don Luis, i, 183, 186

Chandillon, Juan Baptiste, ii, 395; note 106 as to, 401

Chandillon, a courier, ii, 76, 82, 83, 80, 91
Chaneers, ii, 301
Chanes, a camp of Shawnees, ii, 60
Chanrrion, Carlos, i, 187; note 94 as to, 194
Chanters, their functions, i, 117
Chaouanon, i, 45
Chapoutousa, a messenger for Lorimier, ii, 61
Charette, village of, ii, 30
Charity Hospital, of New Orleans under direction of church, i, 117-18
Charleville, Charles, ii, 367; note 49 as to, 371
Charleville, Francois, ii, 377; note 126 as to, 384
Charpentier, Joseph, ii, 332, 333
Charpentier, Henri, 54; note 2 as to, 54, 55, 87
Chartier, Juan Baptiste, ii, 394; note 72 as to, 400
Chartier, Louis, i, 328; note as to, 331
Chartier, widow, ii, 394; note 85 as to, 402
Chartran, Amable, ii, 378; note 142 as to, 385
Chartran, Joseph, i, 187; note 103 as .to, 194
Chat Labe, i, 56
Chatal, Auguste, i, 88; note 38 as to, 91
Chatillon, Juan, ii, 366; note 39 as to, 370
Chattelreau, i, 186; note 76 as to, 193
Chauvin, Mons., i, 88, trades with the Mahas in 1777, 139
Chauvin, Francisco, i, 102
Chauvin, Don Jamie, i, 102
Chauvin, Pedro, or Pierre, i, 95, 103; ii, 366; note 27 as to, 370
Chauvin, Don Santiago, ii, 299, 373; note 10 as to, 379
Chavuesnons, or Shawnees, in Bois Brule bottom, ii, 42; received by Spain, 43; threaten 'to attack Americans, 43
Cheney, Lemuel, ii, 407; note 99 as to, 412
Chepousa, or St. Johns Bayou, i, 280; Morgan returns to, 292
Cheraquise, Maria, ii, note 86 as to, 401
Cherokees, hunt on the St. Francois, i, 100; compel miners to abandon Mine La Motte, 100, 209; ii, 60; make war on the people on the Cumberland, 73; arrive at Cape Girardeau, 83; council with Lorimier, 83; hold council with Lorimier, 85, reply to Lorimier, 86; make war on Americans, 99; kill Col. Montgomery, 99
Cherokee river, ii, 90
Chevalier, Don Louis, i, 185; note 36 as to, 191; to receive a gratification for his services in the conquest of Fort St. Joseph, 207; ii, 374; note 37 as to, 380
Chevalier, Joseph, ii, 366
Chevalier, Pierre, ii, 293
Chickasaw Bluffs, i, 220
Chickasaws, i, 209, 219, 214; not unfriendly, 218; outrages by, 212; ii, 18, 69
Chiefs, of Savages, to be honored, i, 11
Chies, see Chickasaws
Chil, Luis, i, 186
Chillers, Louis, ii, 376
Chisholm, Hugh McDonald, ii, 393; note 13 as to, 398
Choctaws, reported on the Ohio, ii, 76; 112
Chole, Francisco, i, 185
Choret, Joseph, ii, 375
Choret, Nicolas, i, 185; note 38 as to, 192
Choret, Pedro, ii, 374; note 43 as to, 381
Chouteau, brothers, their loyalty praised, ii, 131
Chouteau, fort built among the Osages, i, xxiv, 177, 241; delivers fourteen English medals at New Orleans, 203, 241; his batteau arrives at Cape Girardeau, ii, 87; offers to build a fort among the Osages, 101; contract with. to build a fort among the Osages, 106
Chouteau, Auguste, i, 54, 101, 175; amount of his trade with the Big Osages, 139, 183; note 1, 184; his services recognized, 202; Pekan charges at an Indian council in Cape Girardeau that he sustains the Osages in their rogueries, ii, 96; founds a colony near fort Carondelet 102, 104; his efforts to pacify the Osages, 251, 303; examines St. Louis barracks, 269
Chouteau, Pedro, or Pierre, i, 186; note 65 as to, 192; appointed commandant of fort among the Osages, ii, 101, 106; commandant of Fort Carondelet, 107; reliance on, to control Osages, 226, 299; speech to Osages, 302, 303, 304, 306, 311, 331, 338, 374; note 27 as to, 380

Chouteau, widow, i, 102, 103; ii, 373; note 4 as to, 379
Chouriac, Don Lorenzo, i, 49; note as to, 52
Chouquet, Julian, ii, 378; note 1 as to, 385
Christian Customs, to be observed, i, 4
Church edifices how built and maintained, i, 116
Church of New Madrid, ii, 351; inventory of, 339; of St. Louis, condition of, 222
Clairent, or Clairmont, Jean, i, 123
Civil Archives of St. Louis, inventory of, i, 258; ii, 261
Clandestine trade with the English, i, 71
Clamorgan, Jacques, director of the Spanish Commerical company, i, xxiii; biographical notice of, note 1, ii, 148; promotes the organization of the company, 148-49, 157; a member of the company, 159; petitions Carondelet in behalf of the company, 161; director for the company, 164; instructions given by him to the agents of the company, 164-172; reports the operation of the company, 173; appoints Mackay to lead an expedition, 182, 374
Clamorgan, Loisel & Co., ii, 254
Clark, David, ii, 293
Clark, Francois, ii, 293
Clark, Gen. George Rogers, i, xx, xxii; failed to succor the Illinois country, 180, 204, ii, 23, 24; fear of the Spaniards that he will fall on Nogales, 25; proposal to enlist men to open the Mississippi, 26
Clement, Miguel, ii, 388; note 6 as to, 390
Clermont, a woman, ii, 84; note 46 as to, 399
Cleromon, chief of the Big Osages in 1777, i, 144
Clergy, how supported during the Spanish dominion, i, 116
Climate of New Madrid district, i, 282
Clingensmith, Daniel, ii, 405
Codere, Andre, works on pirogues, ii, 67
Coder, Henrique, i, 329; note 46 as to, 331
Coder, Juan Baptiste, i, 329; note 48 as to, 331
Coder, Pedro, i, 328; note as to, 330
Coder, Renate, i, 329; note 42 as to, 331
Coder, Touissant, i, 228; note 33 as to, 331
Coignard, Louis, i, 54; disloyalty of, ii, 126, 134, 299, 388, 389
Cojidi, Patrick, ii, 396
Colbert, James, Madame Cruzat, a prisoner in his hands, claims that he treated her with courtesy, i, 219; delivers the prisoners to the Spanish authorities, 219, 216; leader of a band of fugitives on the Mississippi, 214; objects to the reward offered by the Spaniards for heads of individuals, 219; offers to exchange prisoners, 220; agreement as to certain prisoners of war, 220, 221; was in command of the party which captured Mad. Cruzat, 222, 227; the Chicksaw chief William Colbert was his son, 228, 229; designs of, 230
Colbert, William, son of James, i, 228
Coldwater, i, 166
Collel, Mons., ii, 77
Collel, Ventura, ii, 375; note 48 as to, 381
Collet, Gen., visits upper Louisiana, i, xxii, ii, 129, 131; biographical notice of, 133; his plan of St. Louis and for its defence, 238
Collet, Juan Luis, i, 329
Colman, Francisco, ii, 367; note 48 as to, 371
Colony, August Chouteau founds a, at Fort Carondelet, ii, 102
Columbus, Kentucky, located at Iron Mines, i, 197
Colvet, Julian, i, 329; note 53 as to, 331
Commandant of post on Missouri may reserve trade of a particular tribe, i, 14; when scalps are brought in, his duty, 46
Commandants to report frequently, i, 82
Commandant-in-chief, his need of greater pay, ii, 258
Commendation of officers of upper Louisiana, for services in attack on St. Louis, i, 173
Commendation of Vasquez, by Galvez, i, 174
Commerce, growth of, on Mississippi, i, xxiv; fostered by the Spanish government, ii, 125
Commercial Company, organized in St. Louis, ii, 148; has exclusive trade of new Indian tribes, ii, 162

Commission, issued to DeLeyba as Lieutenant-Colonel, i, 170
Compagnot, Francisco, i, 328
Compagnot, Madame, widow, i, 329; note 50 as to, 331
Conac, Louis, i, 103; note 51 as to, 106
Concordia, why so named, ii, 291
Concubinage not tolerated in Spanish settlements, i, 16
Conde, Dr. Auguste, i, 38, 56; note 28 as to, 58, 94, 102; first physician of St. Louis, 129
Condition of fortifications of St. Louis as reported by Perez, i, 271
Conister, Frank, i, 320; note 17 as to, 321
Connand, Mons. i, 87; note 4 as to, 89, 101, 149, 150
Connand, Don Jos., i, 93
Connelley, Col., i, 279; biographical notice of, 289; his intrigues in Kentucky, 288; his proposition, 288; an English emissary, 279
Connelly, Hugh, ii, 405; note 65 as to, 411
Connelly, Timothy, ii, 403; note 9 as to, 408
Connor, Ephraim, ii, 98
Constant, Gabriel, ii, 378; note 145 as to, 385
Constant, Marcus, ii, 366; note 28 as to, 370
Contabre, Pedro, trade with the Panis in 1777, i, 139; note 2 as to, 140
Contierre, Joseph, i, 89; note 23 as to, 91
Contraband trade not to be allowed in Morgan's colony, i, 305
Contract for building Fort Carondelet, ii, 106; for securing flour,' i, 374; for building mills, 373; disapproved, 396
Convoys, to Illinois, i, 217; robbed, 218
Conway, Morris, i, 209
Coontz, see Couns
Cooper, James, ii, 405; note 66 as to, 411
Corn to be planted by the settlers at new forts, i, 17; Menard supplies Indians with, at Cape Girardeau, ii, 66; Americans can sell corn on west side of river, 75; Langlois brings corn from Ste. Genevieve for Indians, 77, 78; delivered by Menard, 84; Loups ask for, 99
Coen, Elias, ii, 294
Corneau, Francois, i, 186; note 68 as to, 192
Corneau, Joseph, ii, 388; note 4 as to, 390
Cornelius, Jeptha, ii, 405; note 72 as to, 411
Corps, of Wallonian Guards, ii, 239
Corradine, i, 216
Coruna, service of Piernas at, i, 131
Cory, Yeacke, i, 329; note as to, 331
Costs, in the Foucher claim, ii, 217
Cost to repair fortifications of St. Louis, i, 272; of militia at Fort Carondelet, ii, 102
Costi, i, 38
Cote, i, 88, 94; note 9 as to, 96
Cote, Alexander, i, 184
Cote, Alexis, i, 56; biographical note 13 as to, 58, ii, 388; note 88 as to, 390
Cote, Joseph, i, 188
Cotner, Martin, ii, 406
Cotter, Jacob, ii, 394; note 50 as to, 401
Couder, Pierre, ii, 377; note 10[illegible] as to, 384
Couline, Jos., i, 95; note 34 as to, 98
Councils, how shall be held with Indians, i, 48; proceedings with to be recorded, 48; with Indians at Cape Girardeau, ii, 78
Couns, Juan, ii, 375; note 57 as to, 381
Couns, Nicolas, ii, 389; note 39 as to, 392
Courtesy to be shown English officers, i, 13; how to be visited, 13
Courtois, Joseph, ii, 368; note 70 as to, 372
Courtois, Julian Louis, ii, 378; note 134 as to, 385
Courtois, Santiago, ii, 367; note 58 as to, 371
Cousin, Claude Noel, i, 329
Cousin, Barthelemi, ii, 403; note 2 as to, 408
Cousset, Simon, i, 194; ii, 388; note 3 as to, 390
Couteley, Francois, ii, 396; note 111 as to, 402
Coutere, Jos., i, 103
Covet, Francisco, ii, 366
Coyteux, ii, 46, 56, 79, 80
Coyteaux, Louis, ii, 82, 293
Cox Andrew, ii, 294
Cox, Ben., ii, 293
Cox, James, ii, 403; note 15 as to, 408
Creely, or Creliz, Juan Baptiste, ii, 377; note 108 as to, 384
Cresswell, Hugh, ii, 404; note 30 as to, 410

Crepo, Louis i, 187; note 100 as to, 194
Crispin, Thomas, ii, 396
Crops of the Illinois country, i, 69
Crow, Jacobo, ii, 395; note 98 as to, 401
Cruzat, Don Francisco, inventory of papers and effects he received from Piernas in 1775, i, 126; letter of explanation to Galvez, 134, 135, 138, 140, 141, 151, 154; superseded by de Leyba, 161; re-appointed, 171; instructions in 1780 as to how to conduct his administration, 172, 173, 175; letter to Galvez, 175; suspects conduct of Americans, 180, 183, 186; quick voyage to St. Louis, 197; receives principal chiefs representing 130 tribes, 209, 252; receives inventory of Perez, 258; delivers effects to Perez, 268; fortifies St. Louis, 271; letter of, to Lorimier, 42; succeeds Piernas, i, xix; reappointed, i, xx
Cruzat, Madame, captured, 211, 216, 219; her evidence of capture by Colbert, 221; when captured had with her four sons, 225; describes the Colbert band of robbers, 225; dies at St. Louis, 231
Cruzel, J., i, 236; note 33, as to, 339
Cryts, Peter, ii, 406
Cudorche, Pedro, i, 185
Cumberland river; fifty men at, 61; rumor of building a redoubt at, 62; no enemy found on, by the Loups, 73, 81, 83, 90
Currin, James, ii, 407; note 100 as to, 412
Cuture, Jos., ii, 293
Cuture, Santiago, clears ground for Fort Celeste, ii, 213
Cuzote, Pedro, i, 187
Cuzot, Simon, i, 187; note 98 as to, 194

D

Dagneau, Louis, i, 328; note 24 as to, 330
Dagobert, Fray, i, 115, 116, 118, 120
Dances of slaves without permission of masters prohibited, i, 244
Daniel, Nicolas i, 187; note 86 as to, 193; ii, 60
Danton, Israel, ii, 294
Daugherty, Elijah, ii, 404; note 49 as to, 410
Daugherty, William, ii, 404; note 48 as to, 410
Dauphin, Jean Baptiste, ii, 378; note 146 as to, 385
Dapuir, Isadore, ii, 395; note 88 as to, 401
Datchurut, Juan, i, 95
Daria, Widow, ii, 394; note 41 as to, 399
Darriese, i, 336; note 41 as to, 339
Davidson, Thomas, i, 319
Davis, Jaque, ii, 294
Davis, John, i, 336
Davis, Juan, ii, 366; note 32 as to, 370
Day, Aaron, ii, 214
Death,in case of, duty of person where person dies, i, 246
Debo, Pedro, i, 185; note 39 as to, 192
Decapins, or Decasins, i, 94; note 7 as to, 96
Dechams, i, 88; note 20 as to, 90
Dechene, i, 102
Dechene, Pedro, i, 188
Defence of St. Louis, i, 167
Delawares, ii, 320
Delaware Indians, opposite mouth of the Ohio, i, 292
Delinel, Estevan, ii, 367; note 44 as to, 371
Delor, Clement, ii, 378; note 127 as to, 384
Delorier, Francisco, i, 184
Delorier, Francois, ii, 377; note 105 as to, 384
Delor, Monsieur, i, 102; note 9, as to, 104
Demarre, Amable, i, 185; note 59 as to, 192
Demess, Charles, ii, 405
Denoyon, Louis, i, 329; note 45 as to, 331; ii, 394; note 74 as to, 400
Denoyer, i, 102
Denunter, Benjamin, ii, 396; note 129 as to, 402
Denurrado, Benito, a Corporal, i, 42
Depre, Rene, i, 185; note 31 as to, 191
Derbigny, Don Pedro, ii, 84; appointed Lieutenant of New Madrid Dragoons, 39; appointed Captain of Militia, 36
Derlac, Juan, ii, 394; note 52 as to, 399
Derman, George, ii, 396
Demarre, Amable, i, 185, note 59 as to, 192
Derouin, Juan Louis, i, 188; biographical notice of, 195; note 116

Derouin, Estevan, i, 188
Derouse, François, i, 328, 329
Derousel, Geronimo, i, 89; note 40 as to, 91
Derousel, Guillermo, i, 95; note 33 as to, 98
Derroge, Lorenzo, i, 184; note 24 as to, 190
Description of habitants of St. Louis, i, 70
Description of settlement at Salt Works, i, 71
Description of Church of New Madrid, ii, 339; of Illinois Country by Piernas, i, 66; of Ste. Genevieve by Piernas, 70; by Piernas, 72; the Spanish Illinois, by Rui, 64
Descary, Francisco, ii, 376; note 70 as to, 382
Deschamp, i, 88; note 7 as to, 90
Deserters from forts on Missouri, i, 32; captured at Natchez, 32; not surrendered to Americans, 179; not to be harbored, punishment for, i, 247
Desel, Alexandro, i, 56; biographical sketch, 59; note 41; 88
Desel, Antonio, i, 102; note 40 as to, 106
Desel, Guillermo, i, 56
Desel, Joseph, i, 102; note 43 as to, 106
Deschenes, i, 38
Desene, i, 56; note 18 as to, 58
Desnoyers, Kierq., i, 94
Despeentreirux, Lucas, i, 335; note 20 as to, 339
Dewlin, John, ii, 387; and note 6
De Abrado, Marchioness, married De Ulloa, i, 28
De Arbas, Carlos, i, 56
De Armesto, Don Andres Lopez, i, 403
De Barthe, Count, interested in the Scioto Land Company, i, 363
De Belestre, i, 241; see Belestre
De Biggis, ii, 394; note 84 as to, 401
De Blanc, Louis, ii, 193, biographical notice of
De Breville Briaud, i, 337; note 60 as to, 340
De Bresseau, Don Francisco, i, 49; biographical sketch of, 52
De Casa-Calvo, Marquis, ii, biographical sketch of, 287, note 2; 308, 343, 344, 355; his report on Louisiana boundary, 355
De Chaut, i, 56
De Cote, Juan Baptiste, ii, 377
De Covas, Thomas, i, 42
D'Etailly, Joseph, i, 328; note as to, i, 330; ii, 96, 98
De Finiels, Monsieur, sent by Yrujo to fortity St. Louis, ii, 226, 229
De Galvez, Don Bernardo, i, 54; biographical note, 135; Cruzat reports to, 138, 149; favors immigration to upper Louisiana, 152; decrees aid to immigrants, 155; favors cultivation of hemp and flax, 158; sends De Leyba to St. Louis, 161; orders against Osages, 164; disapproves establishment of a fort at Des Moines, 166; sends De Leyba commission as Lieutenant-Colonel, 170; praises local officers, 171; Cruzat reports English intrigues to him, 175; reports to him muster roll of St. Louis militia, 182; reports to Jos. De Galvez the St. Joseph expedition, 207
De Galvez, Joseph, Marquis of Sonora, biographical notice of, i, 207, 169; letter of Miro to, 208, 213; navigation of Mississippi not free, 237, 253
De Grand Pre, Don Carlos, i, 213, 344, 346, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354
De Grimaldi, Marquis, i, 32, 34
De Guire, Andres, i, 56; biographical sketch, 59; note 51, 88, 89, 103; ii, 366; note 29 as to, ii, 370
De Guire, Antonio, i, 95
De Guire, August, i, 95
De Guire, Juan, ii, 368; note 64 as to, 371
De Guire, Paul, ii, 293
De Hebecourt, Chevalier, i, 395
De Landasuri, Don Thomas Ortiz, i, 109, 113
De Langoumois, i, 94
De Lassus, Don Carlos De Hault, Commandant of New Madrid, i, xxiv; ii, 51, 122, 127; petitions to be transferred to Louisiana regiment, 239; petitions for pay of Lieutenant-Colonel, 242; petition denied, 244, 269, 296, 298; holds council with the Osages, 301, 307; his report of expedition against Maskous, 318; with his expedition to New Madrid arrives at Cape Girardeau, 319; as to services of Soulard, 328, 337; transferred to Louisiana regiment, 240, 244, 356, 397

De Leyba, Fernando, succeeds, Cruzat, i, xx; dies, xx; arrives in St. Louis, 161; defends St. Louis, 167; appointed Lieutenant-Colonel, 170
De Lisle Carlos, i, 328; biographical notice of, i, 330; ii, 375; note 56 as to, 381
De Lisle, Louis, ii, 376; note 75 as to, 383
De Lisle, Juan Baptiste, ii, 377; note 106 as to, 384
De Lauxier, Don Francisco, appointed Lieutenant of Militia, ii, 31
De Lor, Clement, i, 104
De Lor Treget, Clement, Captain of the Louisbourg Comp., ii, 41
De Lorie, Louis, i, 101; note 4 as to, 103
De Lorier, Louis, ii, 373; note 21 as to, 380
De Lopez, Angulo Ramon, ii, 310
De Luziere, Chevalier, contracts for building mills, i, 373; ii, 82, 296, 297; letter of, to Lorimier, ii, 58; Commandant of New Bourbon, ii, 248, 298, 69; his family comes up the river in 1793, ii, 69; Madame at the Chute or Falls of the Ohio, ii, 72
De Maiseuire, i, 337; note 58 as to, 340
De Marcos, Gaspar, i, 42
De Marquet, Bernardo, i, 337; ii, 82
De Ore, Don Antonio, i, 235
De Panis, i, 102; note 32 as to, i, 105
De Rendan, Don Francisco, i, 400
De Rocher, Don Pedro, appointed to form a militia Company at New Madrid, ii, 33, 214, 383; note i, as to, 398
De Rocher, Laurent, notice of, i, 190
De Romine, i, 395
De Rousse, Francois, ii, 395; note 100 as to, 401
De Rouen, Madame, widow, ii, 373; note 14, as to 379
De Salcedo, Manuel, biographical sketch of, ii, 322, 331; 343
De Santel, Joseph, ii, 374; note 36 as to, 380
De Selle, Joseph, ii, 377; note 54 as to, 371
De Soniat, Guy, i, 2
De Steuben, Baron, ii, 4
De Treget, Pedro, sub-lieutenant, ii, 41
De Unzaga, Don Luis, i, 53, 92; biographical note, 2, 100, 121, 125, 126, 132, 163
De Urquijo, Mariano, Luis, ii, 259
De Veres, Nicolas, ii, 396
De Verdon, ii, 84, batteaus of
De Volsay, Don Pedro, i, 38, 88, 67; ii, 376; note 85 as to, 383
De Villars, Louis Dubruil, i, 54
De Van, or Devot, Pedro, ii, 377; note 123 as to, 384
De Yrujo, Martinez, his letter to Carondelet in regard to English attack, ii, 227-8-9; letter as to arrest of Collot, 230
De La Alcudia, Duke, i, 414
De La Chaise, Felicite, i, 149
De La Concha, Don Fernando, Governor of New Mexico, sends Vial to St. Louis, i, 350; letter of, to the Commandant of St. Louis, 352
De La Villabeuvre, Don Juan, ii, 26; letter of Piomingo to, 27
De Las Casas, Luis, letter of Carondelet to, concerning Fort Carondelet, ii, 100; biographical sketch of, i, 332; his letter in regard to fortifications of, St. Louis, i, 342, 369
Del Arco, Don Jhe, i, 112
Des Bruisseau, Lefebre, i, 128
Des Chenes, i, 94
Des Hetre, Antonio, i, 205, ii, 374; note 29 as to, 380
Des Hetre, Hyacinthe, ii, 377; note 107 as to, 384
Des Moines, no trade with the Osages by that river allowed, ii, 191
Des Moines or Muen River, i, 145; fort on, 332; ii, 191
Des Noyer, Kierq, i, 88; 188 note 127 as to, 195
Des Noyer, Joseph, ii, 388; note 14 as to, 390
Des Noyer, Louisa, widow, ii, 378; note 136 as to, 385
Des Rousseau, Juan Baptiste, ii, 342, 343
Des Russel, Guillermo, i, 103
Deille, Francois, i, 123
Diel, Antonio, i, 88; note 32 as to, 91, 94
Didier, a farmer, i, 396
Didier, L. P., ii, 299
Dion, i, 88; note as to, 90, 94
Disorders at forts, i, 32
Disputes with English to be settled amicably, i, 13
Dissension among Spanish officers at forts on Missouri, i, xvii
District of Miro, i, 208
Divorces during French dominion, i, 119-120

Dixon, Hezekiah, ii, 405; note 63 as to, 411; Mrs., ii, 404; note 44 as to, 410
Documents delivered by Trudeau to De Lassus at St. Louis, ii, 264
Dockyards at Cape Girardeau, i, xxii; blacks work in, ii, 76
Dode, Luis, i, 329; note 54 as to, i, 331
Dodge, an American, i, 179; Monsieur, i, 205
Dodge, Israel, ii, 194
Dodge, John, i, 283
Dodie, Agustin, i, 188; note 130 as to, 196
Dodie, Gabriel, i, 188; note 129 as to, 196
Dodier, Augustin, i, 196; ii, 375
Dodier, Gabriel, i, 88, 94, 102; note 36, as to, i, 106, 196; ii, 375; i, 56; biographical sketch, 58; note 29
Dodier, Madame, i, 88; widow, i, 94; i, 56, 58; note 30
Domestic Animals, to be taken to the new settlements, i, 17
Donahan, Joseph, ii, 293
Donahue, Jean, ii, 293
Donahue, Thomas, ii, 294
Donations, patriotic, ii, 292
Don Carlos Tercero, el Rey, Fort, i, 21
Dorlac, Francisco, ii, 376; note 91 as to, 383
Dorlac, Pedro, ii, 365; note 18 as to, 369
Dorsey, Ben, i, 319, 321; note 2
Dorsey, Guillermo, ii, 396
Dorsey, Samuel, ii, 394; note 75 as to, 400
Douchouquette, Henri, i, 187; note 90 as to, 193
Douchouquette, Francisco, i, 187
Dowty, James, ii, 404; note 41 as to, 410
Doyle, Major, ii, 120; commandant at Fort Massac, 119; his detachment, 90
Doyson, Jaque, ii, 293
Dragon, Pedro, i, 337; note as to 341
Drockenbrot, see, Drybread
Drouet, Antoine, ii, 62
Drouin, Etienne, ii, 88
Droullard, Pedro, i, 335; note 12 as to, 338
Droux, Francisco Clodine, marries du Fossat, i, 2
Droux, Maturin, i, 2
Drybread, Andres, ii, 394; note 63 as to, 400
Drybread, Juan, note 64 as to, ii, 400
Drygoods, abounding in upper Louisiana after purchase, ii, 357
Dubal, Bernardo, i, 185; note 61 as to, 192
Dubois, Juan Baptiste, ii, 396
Dubois, Louis, ii, 396; note 91 as to, 401
Dubois, Pierre, i, 186; note 72 as to, 193
Dubreuil, i, 38, 224
Dubreuil, Antonio, ii, 311
Dubreuil, Louis, member of the Commercial Company, ii, 159; Chauvet, biographical notice of, i, 193; ii, 377; note 11 as to, ii, 379; ii, 377; note 119 as to, 384
Duchouquette, Madame, widow, i, 56; note 71 as to, 60, 88, 95; note 39 as to, 99; i, 102
Dubroy, Louis, i, 186; note 71 as to, 193
Duchene, Baptiste, trades with the Panis in 1777, i, 139
Duchene, Jos., i, 185
Duchemin, Marie Theresa, i, 183
Duclos, Antonio, i, 102
Duclos, Pedro, i, 95; note 40 as to, 99
Ducomb, Philip, i, 335; note 21 as to, 339
Ducomb, a woman, ii, 395; note 95 as to, 401
Ducille, Juan, ii, 336; note 36 as to, 339
Dudon, i, 123
Duer, Colonel William, plans Scioto Land Company, i, 361, 363; ii, 5, 6
Dufaut, Juan Baptiste, ii, 375; note 64 as to, 382
Duffy, Cornelius, i, 319
DuFossat, Chevalier, Don Guido, i, biographical sketch of, i, 2; engineer to build forts on the Missouri, i, 2; author of a synopsis of the history of Louisiana, i, 2, 63
Dufour Parfait, ii, 367; note 43 as to, 371
Duforest, Don Juan Joseph, interpreter, i, 231; ii, 214
Duggan, Gullaume, i, 337; note 78 as to, 341
Dujo, Baptiste, i, 188
Duller (Dodier), i, 102; note 35 as to, i, 105
Dumont, Pedro, ii, 375; note 68 as to, 382
Duncan, Pierre, i, 334; note 1 as to, i, 338

Dunnagant, dit Beaurosier, Francisco, ii, 377; note 98; 383
Duparc, Guillermo, ii, 343
Dupeau, i, 102; note 34 as to, 105
Dupin, Don Amador Francisco Riche, ii, 338, 339
Dupin, Don Francisco Riche, appointed sub-lieutenant, of New Madrid Militia, ii, 37, 331, 393; note 10 as to, 398
Dupre, Monsieur, i, 93; note 3 as to, 95, 101
Dupuis, Juan Bapriste, ii, 394; note 81 as to, 401
Dupuis, Madame, widow, ii, 374; note 31 as to, 380
Dupuy, Andres, i, 187
Dupuy, Isadore, i, 337; note 67 as to, 340
Du Quoin, or Dequen, chief of the Peorias and Kaskaskias, i, 148
Duraldo, Martin, i, 2
Duran, i, 56
Durocher, Laurent, member of the Commercial Company, ii, 159
Durocher, Lorenzo, ii, 373; note 23 as to, 380
Dusant, i, 94
Duties of Post Commandant defined, i, 238
Dutrecuble, Juan Baptiste, ii, 393; note 31 as to, 398
Duval, Bernard, i, 185; note 61 as to, 192
Duval, Jean, ii, 293
Duville, Alexes, ii, 389
Dyal, Terence, ii, 407; note 110 as to, 413

E

Easson, Guillermo, i, 220
Ecclesiastical cases, how decided, i, 119
Effect, of Brandy trade, on Indians, i, 72
Elias, Pedro, i, 184; note 8 as to, 189
Elliot, John, i, 337
El Ladron, chief of the Iowas in 1777, i, 144
El Pajaro Negro, (Blackbird), chief of the Mahas, i, 144
El Principe de Asturias, Senor Don Carlos, fort of, i, 40
El Quadrante, a post among the Big Osages, i, 149
El Tander, chief of the Mascoutins, i, 146
Emay, Carlos, i, 103; note 47 as to, 106
Emigrants, from English settlements to Spanish side, i, 75; only allowed to settle by permission in writing, 82
Employees, of Spanish officials, allowed to trade with Indians, i, 14
Engel, Philip, i, 337; note 79 as to, 341
English, no trading with, i, 12; by Spanish settlers with, 12; harmony to be preserved with, 13; commandant to be supplied with food in case of need, 13; to be restrained from invading the Spanish territory, 25; excluded from invading the Spanish territory, 23, 35; when goods of, to be confiscated, 35; settlement of, as given by Piernas, 75;in attack on St. Louis, 167; invade upper Missouri, 175; intrigues with Indians on the upper Missouri, 175; feared by Cruzat, 176; traders, 177; presents to the Indians, 177; threats of, 197; barks, leave loaded with ammunition, 200; rebels at Natchez, 230; effort to drive Miro from Natchez by, 232; plan to restrain them from going into the Missouri, i, 343; invasion of feared in 1800, ii, 285
Equipment, notes, how to be certified, i, 248
Esclieu, Nicolas, i, 334; note 4 as to, 338
Espinosa, Vincent, accompanies Vial, i, 353
Etime, Carlos, i, 57; note 76 as to, 60
Eustin, Joseph, ii, 293
Evidence, of Madame Cruzat, detailing capture, i, 221
Expedition, to the mouth of the Missouri, i, 1; number of men in,1; regulations for the government of, 2; object of, 4; how men shall be treated, 4; how goods to be distributed, 6
Expenditures, made by Morgan, i, 312
Exploration, of supposed grant, by Morgan, i, 279
Extent of lands, on Mississippi that could be sold, estimated by Morgan, i, 299

F

Fache, Joseph, i, 188
Fache, Louis, i, 189
Fago, i, 55; note 7 as to 54
Fagot, M., i, 87; note 5 as to, 89
Fagot, Daniel, i, 93

Fallar, Louis, i, 186
Families to be encouraged to go to the Missouri, i, 17; to be suppiled with provisions, 156
Fear of alliance between England and the colonies against Spain, i, 178
Fees, for interment, i, 117; none in Baptisms and marriages, 117
Feneti, Andres, i, 184
Ferdinando, Fray, i, 115
Fernandez, Jose, a surgeon, i, 372
Fertility, of country, i, 63
Fidecharme, Andres, i, 189
Fine, masters liable to, for failure to look after slaves, i, 244
Fires, duty of, in case of, in St. Louis, i, 246
Fivo, Charles, i, 56; note 27 as to, 58
Flags, sent to be distributed among the Sacs, i, 199
Flagstaff, where mounted on forts, i, 51
Flax, cultivation of, i, 158, 159
Fleury, Francois, biographical notice of, i, 194
Florida Blanca, Count of, i, 32
Florida Girls, Indian girls, educated by religious orders, i, 16
Flour, bought in the Illinois for support of troops, i, 22; sold by Pollock to O'Reilly, 204; Mills, to be erected at New Madrid, 373; by Tardiveau, Audrian & Co., 374; price per barrel under this contract, 407; how to be carried to New Orleans, 409;
Food, to be supplied English in case of need, i, 13
Foreign traders and hunters, may not be engaged, i, 248
Forten, Diego, i, 55; note 6 as to, 54
Fortin, Juan, i, 88, 95; note 38 as to, 99, 103; note 48 as to, 106
Forts, size of, to be constructed on Missouri of wood, 5; afterwards of stone and brick, 8; why established, 20; two forts to be built, 21; Ulloa's instructions changed, 24; description of, 49; delivered to Piernas, 49; on Mississippi below New Madrid, 410; to be erected at New Madrid, 314; at the mouth of the Des Moines and Iowa, 332, 166
Fort, at Barrancas à Margot, favorably considered, i, 233
Fort Butte, i, 3, note 8
Fort de Chartres, i, 64
Fort Gage, i, 137
Fort Pitt, Morgan starts from, i, 279
Fort El Principe, i, 40, 49, 63, 67, 74
Fortifications, of St. Louis, approved, i, 271; plan of, 273; ordered repaired, 344; plan of repairs approved by Payetano, 348
Foucher, Pedro, appointed commandant of New Madrid, i, 309; Morgan's comment on his appointment, 296, 320, 327, 329; settlement of his accounts, ii, 209
Foundary, iron, Trudeau, urges establishment of, ii, 250
Frankland, i, 208
Fraudulent Equipment notes, i, 248
Fray Cheau, or Franchville, i, 123
Fray, William, M., i, 337
Frazer, a courier of De Lassus, ii, 281
Freedom in religious matter, would be advantage to Spain, i, 289
French Council, of St. Louis, i, 73
French, Canadian families to be attracted, i, 152; immigration to be favored, 152; Catholics to be favored, immigration of, 155; emigrants on the Scioto, 361; families of Gallipolis, to emigrate to Louisiana, 373; immigration favored by Carondelet, 377
Frison, Juan, i, 337; note 65 as to, 340
Frosseur, or Vasseur, Louis, i, 123
Fruto, Louis, i, 88; note 35 as to, 91
Fuentiment, Thomas (Twentyman) i, 337; note 70 as to, 340
Fugitives, from Natchez, i, 212
Funel, i, 200
Furs, shipped and sold in New Orleans, i, 55; shipped in 1775, 93; report as to in, 1777, 138; trade in, of the Missouris, 142; trade in, of the Little Osages, 142; and other tribes, 142-148

G

Galicia, a province of Spain, i, 54
Galleys, on the Mississippi, ii 15; at Ecors à Margot, 84
Gallipolis, French emigrants arrive at, i, 363, 373; French colony at, 380; immigration from 396; Carondelet hopes to attract French of, to Louisiana, 406
Galvez, (see De Galvez)
Galveston Bay, so named in honor of Bernardo Galvez, i, 156
Galveston, brig, i, 199, ii, 323
Galve, Antonio, i, 184; note 19 as to, 150

Galve, Joseph, jun., i, 184; note 20 as to, 190

Gamache, Mons., i, 56; note 16 as to, 58, 88, 102; note 21 as to, 105

Gamache, Juan Baptiste, ii, 378; note 130 as to, 385

Game, to be secured, how, i, 17

Gamelin. Don Antonio, appointed Lieutenant of New Madrid, ii, 34

Gandron, Baptiste, i, 336; note 52 as to, 340

Ganglon, Alexander, i, 56; note 24 as to, 58

Gagne, ii, 66

Gagnier, Amable, ii, 377; note 115 as to, 384

Gagnon, Pierre, i, 7; biographical notice of, 189, 190, 195; ii, 374

Gagnon, Madame, ii, 367

Ganon, Felizberto, i, 184; note 22 as to, 190

Ganon, Pedro, i, 188; note 125 as to, 190

Garcia, Don Manuel, a naval officer, ii, 116, 127, 123;

Garcia, Don Pedro, principal secretary, i, 109, 112

Garan, Pierre, ii, 393; note 39 as to, 399

Gardens, to be planted, i, 16

Gardoqui, Don Diego, Spanish minister, i, 275, 276, 279; letter to Miro, 284; gives a passport to Morgan, 310; letter to commandant of west shore of Mississippi, 314; letter to Morgan, 307, 311, 400; letter in regard to Commercial company, ii, 180

Gaurau, Estaban, i, 56; note 39 as to, 58

Garreau, J. B., i, 94; note as to, 97, 103

Garrison, at Ste Genevieve, i, 72; at St. Louis, 70; number of, ii, 257; weak at St. Louis, 343

Gascon, i, 94; note 10 as to, 96, 102

Gascony, France, i, 200

Gaurau, Estaban, i, 89

Gautier, Antonio, i, 184; biographical notice of, 190; ii, 388; note 9 as to, 390; appointed lieutenant of the militia, in St. Charles, ii, 30

Gayoso, Don Manuel de Lemos, i, 412; biographical sketch of, ii, 219; effort to stop war between the Creeks and Chicasaws, 112, 123; reports as to Indians, 138; certifies as to services of Col. Don Carlos Howard, 218; reports details as to location of fort at Barrancas à Margot, and describes Barrancas à Margot 114; appoints Mackay commandant of San Andres, 245, 292, 337

Geagan, George, ii, 395

Gearem, Hiram, ii, 294

Gebeau, widow of, i, 56; note 69 as to, 60

General Instructions, for government of the Illinois country, i, 76

Genet, French ambassador, assembles an expedition on the Ohio, ii, 100, 101, 110; threatened invasion of, stops building mills at New Madrid, i, 401

Genetau, Louis, ii, 389

Georgia, i, 226

George, Salomon, ii, 294; note 40 as to, 296

Gerard, Joseph, ii, 367; note 52 as to, 371

Germans, immigration of, favored, ii, 154

Gervais, a farmer, i, 395

Gervais, Juan Baptiste, ii, 395; note 115 as to, 402

Gibault, Pere, takes oath of allegiance, i, 336; ii, 395; note 89, as to 401

Giboney, Alexander, ii, 403; note 10 as to, 408

Gidou, i, 337

Giel, Francisco, i, 103; note 46 as to, 106

Gigedo, Conde de Revilla, i, 350

Gill, Jean, i, 335

Gilver, Juan, i, 187; note 101 as to, 194

Ginon, (Guion) i, 55; biographical sketch, 56; note 10

Girard, Louis, i, 337; note 68 as to, 340

Girard, Joseph, i, 187; note 102 as to, 194

Girous, or Goriaux, ii, 74

Goats, not allowed to run at large in St. Louis, i, 246

Godair, Andres, i, 336; note 53 as to, 340; ii, 393; note 28 as to, 398

Godair, Pierre, ii, 403; note 3 as to, 408

Godair, Touissant, ii, 395; note 101 as to, 401

Gomez, Don Francisco, lieutenant under Rui, i, 21, 29; insubordination of, 33;

Gonette, Francois, ii, 394; note 17 as to, 398

Gonon, Pedro, **i**, 184; note 7 as to, 189
Gonont, report as to pestilence in Havanna, **ii**, 97
Goods, distributed among the savages to be certified to, **i**, 6; bought from Sarpy, **i**, 203; to be returned to him, 203; price exorbitant, 203; shipped to Lorimier down the Ohio, **ii**, 51
Goodwin, Benjamin, **ii**, 403; note 5 as to, 408
Gordon, Charles, **i**, 319
Gotie, Antonio, 184; note 17 as to, 190
Govereau, (Grogro) Etienne, **i**, 103; note 53 as to, 106; **ii**, 366; note 37 as to, 371
Govereau, Louis, **ii**, 367; note 50 as to, 371
Graams, Aaron, **ii**, 396; note 127 as to, 402
Grabin, Charles, **ii**, 396; note 125 as to, 402
Graham, see Graams.
Grande, Augustin, **i**, 230; biographical notice of, 321; **ii**, 298; in command of Campo de la Esperanza, 340
Grand Pre, Carlos, people of Natchez unfriendly to **i**, 216, 217; oppression of, 230, 345, 348; **ii**, 351, 352, 353 (see De Grand Pre)
Grapeshot, **ii**, 345; rounds of, 347
Gratiot, Charles, takes paper from Largeau to Cruzat, **ii**, 42, 299
Gratification, to be given Chevalier, **i**, 207
Graubau, Esteban, **i**, 94; note 22 as to, 97
Gravel, Luis, **i**, 102; note 41 as to, 106; **ii**, 367; note 46 as to, 371
Gray, David, **i**, 336; biographical notice of, 338; **ii**, 394; note as to, 401
Great Concessions, Miro objects to be made to single individuals, **i**, 277
Green, Benjamin, **i**, 337
Green, Henry, **ii**, 393; note 25 as to, 398
Green, Juan, **i**, 220
Green, Pedro, **i**, 336; note as to 339
Green, Robert, **ii**, 405; note 51 as to, 410
Greenville, **ii**, 294; note 31 as to, 296
Gregorio, Tercero, **ii**, 389; note 35 as to, 392
Gremenon, Estaban, **i**, 56
Gremillion, Francisco, **ii**, 343
Grenades, hand, **ii**, 345
Grene, Francisco, **i**, 187; note 105 as to, 194
Grenier, Francois, **ii**, 389; note 49 as to, 392
Gresard, Jean Bpatiste, **ii**, 389; note 44 as to, 392
Griffard, Alexis, **ii**, 293
Griffard, Louis, **ii**, 366; note 33 as to, 370
Grimar, Juan Baptiste, **ii**, 394; note 73 as to, 400
Grimard. Pedro, **i**, 328; note 30 as to, 331
Grimes, Guillaume, **ii**, 294; note 37 as to, 396
Grimes, Joseph, **ii**, 294; note 36 as to, 396
Grosvenor, Bryant, **i**, 319; note 8 as to, 321
Grount, George, **ii**, 406
Grount, Peter, **ii**, 406
Growth, of commerce on Ohio in 20 years, **i**, 294
Growth, of commerce on Mississippi, **i**, xx
Guadaloupe, Collot taken prisoner on Island, **i**, xxiii
Guarico, **i**, 212
Gubert, Juan, **i**, 103; note 58 as to, 107
Guel, Antonio, **i**, 56; note 56 as to, 60
Guel, Francisco, **i**, 56; note 62 as to, 60, 88; note 29 as to, 91, 94
Gueremont, Estaban, **i**, 95; note 25 as to, 97
Gueridenoye (Kiery des Noyer) **i**, 56; biographical note, 12, 57
Guerin, Juan Simon, **ii**, 394; note 61 as to, 400
Guerra, Manuel, **i**, 42
Gueruge, **i**, 338; note 101 as to, 341
Guething, John, **ii**, 405; note 81 as to, 412
Guides, furnished Morgan by Perez, **i**, 280, 311
Guiersero, Gregorio, **i**, 187; note 108 as to, 194
Guilbeaut, at Cape Girardeau, **ii**, 53
Guilbaut, Charles, **ii**, 394; note 51 as to, 399
Guilmore, Juan, **ii**, 394; note 62 as to, 400
Guilt, Jacobo, **ii**, 395; note 90 as to, 401
Guion, **i**, 102
Guion, Amable, **i**, 38, 188; **ii**, 374; note 44 as to, 381
Guion, Nicolas, **i**, 185
Guion, Herrero (blacksmith) **i**, 102; note 27 as to, 105
Guion, Capt., Don Isaac, **ii**, 219

Guitard, Pablo, i, 94; note 15 as to, 96, 186; note 78 as to, 193; ii, 374
Guitard, Paul, i, 193

H

Habitants, complimented by Navarro for patriotism, i, 198
Habitat, of the Canzes, i, 141, 143; of the Mahas, 144; of the Osages in 1777, 142; of the Big Osages, 144; of the Iowas in 1777, 144; and other Indian tribes, 145, 148
Halsted, T. F., ii, 7
Hamar, Gen., near the Scioto, when French emigrants arrived, i, 363
Hand-Grenades, ii, 345
Hand Henry, ii, 405; note 58 as to, 400
Hardell, Peter, ii, 406
Hargrove, Benjamin, ii, 403; note 24 as to, 409
Harpin, Francisco, i, 328; note as to, 330
Harpin, Joseph, i, 328; note 11 as to, 330
Hart, Thomas, ii, 294
Hartloer, Jean, ii, 294
Harvest, total in 1774, i, 95; total in 1775, 103
Havanna, workmen coming from, to be married, 8; fleet coming from, i, 199
Hays, Christopher, Col., biographical notice of, i, 301; ii, 405; note 60 as to, 411
Hays, George, ii, 405
Hays, John, ii, 407; note 90 as to, 412
Head, James, ii, 387; and note 3
Health of the Illinois country, as compared with other Spanish colonies elsewhere, i, 17
Heberly, Catharine, i, 319, 321
Hebert, Augustine, i, 188; note 120 as to, 195
Hebert, Francisco, i, 102
Hebert, Guillaume, i, 192; petitions against Commercial company, ii, 197
Hebert, Joseph, ii, 375; note 59 as to, 381
Hebert, Marie L., i, 54
Hebert, Madame, widow, 88, 94, 102
Hector, Gilbert, ii, 405; note 50 as to, 411
Heen, Augustin, ii, 294
Hege, Juan, i, 101; note 2 as to, 103
Heki, Louis, i, 337; note 92 as to, 341
Helay, Jesa, ii, 294; note as to, 296
Hellay, Guillaume, ii, 293
Hemp, cultivation of, i, 158; cultivation of, by Americans, ii, 256
Henete, Baptiste, i, 188
Hennet, Carlos, ii, 368; note 68 as to, 372
Henrion, i, 194
Henrion, Francisco, i, 56; biographical sketch, note 34, 59
Hernes, John, i, 338; note 103 as to, 341
Herrero, Carlos, drummer, i, 42
Herrero, Roy, i, 88; note 11 as to, 90
Herrero, i, 56; note 22 as to, 58
Herreaux, i, 88; note 25 as to, 90
Hervieux, i, 94
Hesse, English commander in attack on St. Louis, i, 167, 169, 170
Hever, Augustin, i, 188; note 120, as to, 195
Heward, Hugh, his claim against Lorimier, ii, 42
Hewling, Capt., i, 283
Highways, navigable rivers are, i, 305
Hilaire, Father, his trouble with St. Genevieve parish, i, xix; forbids religious aid from the east side of the river, 122, 124, 125; biographical sketch of, 124
Hill, Samuel, i, 337
Hill, William, ii, 405
Himan, Charles, ii, 378; note 128 as to, 385
Himot, Antonio, i, 56; note 53 as to, 60
Hirene, Fray, i, 115
Hogan, Edmund, ii, 407; note 87 as to, 412
Holmes, Joseph, i, 220
Holston, Estaban, letter of, i, 221
Holston, Juan, letter of, i, 221
Holston, Judith, letter of, i, 221
Holston, Mad. Tudah, i, prisoner at New Orleans, i, 220
Honore, i, 88
Honore, Francisco, i, 187; note 84 as to, 193
Honore, Louis, i, 184; biographical notice of, 189; ii, 376; note 94 as to, 383, 378; note 141 as to, 385
Hornebeck, Noel, ii, 293
Hornes, or Horner, Juan, ii, 395
Horse racing, forbidden in St. Louis streets, i, 243
Horses, only to be driven in a trot in St. Louis, i, 243
Horses, Missouris, steal, i, 142

Horses, stolen by Cherokees and Maskous, on Cumberland, ii, 73
Horsely, Thomas, ii, 394; note 65 as to, 400
Hortez, Juan Baptiste, i, 184; biographical notice of, 190; note 27; ii, 373; note 25 as to, 380
Hortiz, Joseph, i, 103; note 59 as to, 106; ii, 298, 299; ii, 375; note 69 as to, 382
Hoss, John, ii, 406
Hot, Charles, i, 186; note 81 as to, 193
Hotos, i, 176
Honbré, i, 102
House, Adam, i, 319; biographical note 5, 321
Houses, style of, erected by American pioneers, ii, 13
Houton, Antonio, i, 338; note 106 as to, 341
Howard, Don Carlos, Irish officer in Spanish service, i, xxiii; his services, ii, 218; appointed military commandant of upper Louisiana, 122; his expedition up the river, 123; Carondelet relies on his military talents, 226; details the services of Soulard, 329
Hubardeau, Simon, ii, 365; note 11 as to, 369
Hubert, i, 38
Hubert, Antonio, trades with the Canzes, in 1777, i, 139
Hubble, Daniel, ii, 403
Hubble, Ithamar, ii, 403; note 25 as to, 409
Hubble, Jonathan, ii, 404
Hubble, Matthew, ii, 403
Huder, Antonio, i, 186
Hudson, Francisco, ii, 395; note 119 as to, 402
Hudson Bay Company, invades Spanish possessions, i, xxiii; ii, 254
Hrufru, John, i, 337; note 88 as to, 341
Huge, or Vge, Joseph, ii, 376; note 84 as to, 383
Humet, Baptiste, i, 188; note 124 as to, 195
Hunand, i, 88; 94
Hunand, widow, i, 89
Hunkis, Jean, ii, 293; note 22 as to, 295
Hunot, i, 56;
Hunot, widow, i, 103
Hunot, Don Juan, appointed ensign of New Madrid militia, ii, 38
Hunot, Joseph, i, 328, 329, 334; note 2 as to, 338
Hunot, Louis, i, 196; 188; note 137 as to, 196
Hunters, by profession, not admitted as settlers of New Madrid, i, 305; if non-residents, not to be engaged, 248
Hurley, Moses, ii, 403; note 20 as to, 409
Hutchins, Col. Anthony, i, 227
Hutchins, Capt., i, 280
Hutchins, Thomas, on flour mills on Ohio, i, 400

I

Iberville, i, 3, 8
Illinois, word variously spelled, i, 1, note 2
Illinois country, description of, i, 69
Immigration to upper Louisiana, of Americans, set in motion by Morgan, i, xxi
Immigration, favored by Spaniards, i, xx; of French Canadians favored, i, 152; to advance 40,000 pesos allowed for that purpose, 155; immigrants to be carefully located, 155; if slothful, 156; in consequence of overflow, 236; 2,500 pesos allowed Carondelet on account of promoting French immigration from Gallipolis, 396
Incidents, of Vial's tour, detailed in his Journal, i, 354
Incorporation, articles of, approved of the Spanish Commercial Company, ii, 157
Indebtedness, of soldiers, limited, i, 243
Indigo, ii, 11
Indian allies, Carondelet relies on, in case of English attack, ii, 226
Indians, how to be treated when visiting Spanish posts, i, xix; punished by De Lassus at New Madrid, xxiv; to secure friendship of, to be supplied with ammunition, 26; names of Indian tribes to be reported, 26; trade with, under Spanish rule, how regulated, 36; what tribes to receive presents in western Illinois, 44; how to hold council with, 46; in case, on the warpath, duty of Spanish officials, 47; war among, 47; robbers of traders, 47; method to compel them, to restore stolen goods, 47; kill Jos. Vallé, at Mine la Motte, 54; council with, 65; domesticated, 72;

gather in St. Louis, in May and June, 74; effect of brandy on, 72, 74; the mildness of Spanish rule to be impressed on, 78; to be treated fairly at posts, 78; trade with, 78; to receive bread and rice, 78; presents to, 78; Cherokees, drive miners away, 100; report of, who receive presents in St. Louis, 141; of English side to be attracted, 201; peace with, 209; tribes send a delegation to St. Louis, 209; impossible to punish, 215; giving intoxicating liquors to, punished, 240; provision, to guard against treacherous attack of, 242; slaves not allowed to dress like, 244; Miro's order as to Indian slaves, 249; change mind easily, 257; favor Morgan's project, 280; did not claim land in Morgan's grant, 280; accompany Morgan, 287; relations, to Spaniards, 343; allies of Spaniards, 12; fear American invasion, 12; constantly driven westward by the Americans, ii, 13; fear of Genet's invasion, causes great excitement among, 26; in villages from May to August, 56; invited to join Spaniards, 59; complain of Peyroux, because he gave them nothing to drink or smoke, 65; salute Loups. in Cape Girardeau, when they arrive, 67; renew alliance when they arrive, 67; renew alliance with each other, 84; exasperated at the surrender of lands to the Americans, 138; Osage, great obstacles to the settlement of country, 251; make patriotic contribution to Spain to aid in the war, 297; tribes of, enumerated by Loisel, 359-60-61

Ingratitude, Carondelet comments on, of citizens of St. Louis, ii, 125

Inspection of Government buildings at St. Louis, ii, 267

Instructions, secret to Rui, i, 20; to Cruzat, 171; to Peyroux, 238; secret to Howard, ii, 123; to Howard in case defence of St. Louis useless, 131; to agents of Spanish Commercial Company, going up Missouri, 164; from De Lassus to McCoy as commandant of New Madrid, 280

Inventory, made by Piernas, i, 126, 127; of papers by Perez, 258; of effects delivered by Perez to Cruzat, 265; of the civil archives of St. Louis, ii, 261; of fortifications of St. Louis, 271; of civil and military archives of New Madrid, 273; of effects of New Madrid, 333; of church of New Madrid, 339; of Fort San Estaban, 341

Intemperance, not a Spanish failing, i, 9

Internal Provinces (Provincias Internas), extent of, ii, 110

Intoxicating liquors, not to be given Indians, i, 240

Iowas, or Hayuas, number of, in 1777, i, 145

Iowa river, fort on, i, 332

Irazabal, Don Jose Cabro de, a Spanish Admiral, i, 199

Iron Mines, American settlement at, i, 197, 282; necessity of working, in Louisiana, stated by Trudeau, ii, 250

Iron work, for mills, bought in the United States, i, 401

Isle aux Cedars, ii, 359

Isle-Dieu, Abbe, i, 115

J

Jacob, a Shawnee, ii, 69

Jacob, Thomas, ii, 393; note 32 as to, 398

Jacobs, Jacob, ii, 403; note 18 as to, 408

Jackson, Elisha, i, 335; note 18 as to, 339; ii, 393; note 32 as to, 399

Janis, Antoine, petitions against Commercial Company, ii, 197

Janis, Nicolas, ii, 367; note 47 as to, 371

Jardinier, Mons., i, 87, 93

Jazmin, ii, 368

Jesse, ii, 387, and note 5

Jirar, Joseph, i, 187; note 102 as to, 194

Jocsnubs, ii, 387

Johnson, Peter, i, 337

Johnson, Timothy, i, 319

Jonca, Joseph, ii, 367

Jonca, Pedro, i, 187; note 106 as to, 194

Journal, Mackay's, ii, 181

Journal, Vial's, i, 150

Joyeuse, Francisco, i, 56; note 58 as to, 60, 88; note 33 as to, 91, 94

Jualin, Juan, i, 56

Juana, widow, ii, 377

Juan de Baptista, i, 334

Junnex, Gau, i, 335; note 19 as to, 339
Jurisdiction, of Lieutenant-Governor, i, 76; order of O'Reilly approved, 109; by royal cedula defined, 111
Jurisdiction, of post commandant, defined, i, 238

K

Kakieguemec, a chief of the Sacs, i, 146
Kang, Williams, ii, 395
Kanzé, i, 44, 64; where located, ii, 252
Kaokias, i, 44
Kaskaskia, i, xvi; 44, 64, 129, 148, 177; overflow of 1785, 236; ii, 56, 321
Kavanaugh, see Cavenagts
Kelly, Isaac, ii, 405; note 73 as to, 401
Kelley, Jacob, ii, 407; note 85 as to, 412
Kentucky, peace with, ii, 14, 24; demands free navigation of Mississippi, 92, 94
Kenyon, Simon, ii, 403; note 16 as to, 408
Kerette, Jacobs, ii, 395; note 99 as to, 401
Kids and goats must not run at large in St. Louis, i, 246
Kiercereau, Gregoire, i, 194
Kiercereau, Rene, i, 38
Kiercereau, dit Renaud, i, 200
Kickapoos, i, 44; 74; ii, 27, 306
Klein, Johann, i, 335

L

Labadie, Sylvestre, i, 185; note 60 as to, 192; i, 192; trade with Osages, i, 139; i, 93; note 5 as to, 95; Madame Cruzat on his boat when captured, 214 215, 222, 225, 227; ii, 299; ii, 373; note 6 as to, ii, 379
Labadie, Joseph, ii, 374; note 47 as to, 381
Labarde, Baptiste, ii, 356
Labbe, i, 56, 58; note 26
Labe, Jacobo, i, 186; note 80 as to, 193
Labeau, widow, i, 88; note 34 as to, 91
Labeaume, Louis, ii, 299
Labie, Joseph, a surgeon, i, 372
Labreche, Francisco, ii, 368; note 75 as to, 372
Labreche, Jean Baptiste, i, 189; biographical notice of, 196, note 145
Labrose, i, 56; note 25 as to, 58, 94
Labrosse, Iph., i, 102; note 30 as to, 105
Labrosse, Joseph, i, 186; note 69 as to, 193; ii, 374
Labrosse, Paul, i, 123, note 18 as to
Labuciere, i, 94
Labulliere, a woman, ii, 395; note 97 as to, 401
Labusciere, Joseph, biographical sketch of, i, 73, 184, 189
Labusciere, Madame, i, 329; note as to, 331
Labusciere, Monsieur, i, 102; note 12 as to, 104
Labuxiere, i, 38
Lachance, i, 94; i, 102
Lachance, Antoine, ii, 293
Lachance, Francois, ii, 293
Lachance, Gabriel, ii, 293, 376; note 77 as to, 383
Lachance, Joseph, ii, 293
Lachance, Nicolas, ii, 63, 376; note 19 as to, 369
Lachasse, Juan Baptiste, ii, 377; note 117 as to, 384
Laclede, Don Pedro, sent to establish a trading post, i, xvi, 38, 88; note 15 as to, 90, 94, 102, 128, 130, 136; success of, in cultivating hemp, 100
Lacombe, Eustache, ii, 389; note 45 as to 392,
Lacombe, Louis, ii, 378; note 56 as to, 371
Lacombe, Nicolas, i, 187; note 107 as to, 194
Lacourse, Regis, i, 103; note 49 as to, 106
Laderoute, Pablo, i, 185; note 32, as to, 191
Ladouevo, Juan Baptiste, i, 338; note 102 as to, 341
Laduera, Antonio, i, 187
Laduera, Jacobo, i, 187; note 111 as to, 195
Laduera, Jos. i, 187
Ladusor, Antonio, i, 185
Lafanair, Joseph, ii, 393; note 21 as to, 398
Lafatiga, Diego, i, 56; note 61 as to, 60
Lafatiga, Maria, i, 56; note 68 as to, 60
Lafatigue Jacobo, i, 94

Lafenes, or Lafernait, i, 123
Lefevre de Bruisseau, absconding storekeepre, i, 129
Laflanbuesa, Juan Baptiste, i, 184
Lafleur, Francisco, i, 328; biographical notice of, 330; note 9; ii, 366
Lafleur, Louis, i, 185; note 30 as to, 191; ii, 373
Lafleur, Perode, ii, 366
Lafonse, Jamie, i, 329
Lafont, his boat loaded with Indian corn and flour captured, i, 223, 227
Lagarde, Juan Baptiste, i, 328; notice of, 330, note 10
Lagrand, Joseph, i, 328
Lagrand, Juan Maria, i, 328
Lagrand, Vinda, i, 328
Lahe, Antonio, i, 184; note 26 as to, 190
Lail, Thomas, ii, 366
Lajoy, Antoine, i, 189; note 149 as to, 196
Lake Pontchartrain, ii, 323
Lake St. Anne, i, 281
Lalande, i, 123
Lalande, Alexo, ii, 375
Lalande, Andres, ii, 378
Lalande, Juan, i, 88; note 28 as to, 91; ii, 356
Lalande, Estaban, i, 56; note 54 as to, 60; i, 89, i, 94
Lalande, Juan Baptiste, i, 56; note 64 as to, 60
Lalande, Luis, i, 57
Lalande, Monsieur, i, 102; note 10 as to, i, 104
Lallmand, Juan, ii, 368; note 74 as to, 372
Lalumandiere, Francisco, i, 56; note 49 as to, 59; 88, 95; note 36 as to, i, 98, 103, 122
Lalumandiere, Louis, ii, 365; note 10 as to, 369
Leamire, Joseph, ii, 377; note 118 as to, 384
Lamarina, Juan Baptiste, i, 185; note 41 as to, 192
Lamb, Juan, ii, 396
Lami, i, 56; note 37 as to, 59
Lami, Madame, widow, ii, 376; note 92 as to, 383
Lami, Michel, trades with Missouris, in 1777, i, 139, 187; note 89 as to, 193
Lamirande, Juan Baptiste, i, 185; note 41 as to, 192
Lamonte, Jayme, i, 328
Lampaine, Baptiste, ii, 366; note 41 as to, ii, 370
Lancha, to be sent to New Orleans, i, 238
Land, donated to soldiers who marry, i, 18
Land, offered by Clark as Field Marshal of the French Revolutionary Legion, ii, 26
Land sales, Miro objects to, i, 277
Land sales, would be more profitable to Spain than mines of Peru, i, 299
Land, Robert, ii, 407; note 103 as to, ii, 412
Langaumar, Juan Baptiste, i, 56
Langelier, Joseph, i, 94; note 17 as to, 96, 103
Langevin, Juan Baptiste, ii, 388; note 21 as to, ii, 391
Langellet, Francisco, i, 89
Langlade, i, 177, 200
Langlois, Alex. i, 88; i, 94; ii, 75
Langlois, Charles, ii, 78
Langlois, Francisco, i, 328; biographical notice of, 330, note 13; ii, 75, 78; Commander of the La-Fleche, arrives at Cape Girardeau, 89; escorts batteau of Madame Trudeau with the LaFleche, 93, 98, 119, 394; note 66 as to, 400
Langlois, Jean Adrian, ii, 65, 67, 71, 76, 82, 85, 87; accompanies George Wilson to the Cherokee River, 90, 94
Langlois, Joseph, ii, 388; note 22 as to, 391
Langlois, Juan Baptiste, ii, 395,
Langueville, Isabel, ii, 365; note 5 as to, 369
Lantford, Moises, ii, 393; note as to, 398
Lapointe, Pedro, i, 94, 102; note 16 as to, 104
Larduera, Jacobo, i, 187; note 111 as to, 195
Larduera, Joseph, i, 187
Larduera, Louis, i, 187
Largeau, Louis Francois, i, xxii; sends paper to Cruzat, ii, 42, 58; appointed Secretary of Lorimier, 60, 74, 77, 79, 88, 89, 91, 93, 99
Largillon, a woman, ii, 395; note 92 as to, 401
Laroche Juan Baptiste, i, 57
Larochelle, Madame, ii, 365
Larroche, i, 88; note 24 as to, 90
Larroche, Madame, i, 88
Lasabloniere, i, 88; note 22 as to, 90, 94
Lasabloniere, Jacobo, i, 187; note 93 as to, 194

Lash, applied for failure of slaves to obey ordinances, i, 244
Lasieur, (Lasoy) i, 317
Lasombloniere, Louis, ii, 366; note 36 as to, 370
Lasoudray, Louis, i, 185; biographical notice of, 191; note 33
Lataille, Pedro, i, 337
Latham, John, ii, 407; note 86 as to, 412
Latham, Lewis, ii, 405; note 52 as to, 410
Latoulipe, Jose, ii, 368; note 72 as to, 372
Latuche, Juan Baptiste, i, 337; note 81 as to, 341
Laugherty, Benijah, ii, 395; note 64 as to, 411
Laughlin, Bart M., i, 335; note 17 as to, 339
Laughlan, Patrick, i, 335
Laugoumois, i, 88; note 19 as to, 90
Laurant, i, 88; i, 94
Laurence, Pedro, ii, 343
Laurin, Baptiste, i, 187; biographical notice of, 194; note 109
Laussat, Pedro Clement, ii, 338, 343
Lautre, i, 45
Lavale, Francisco, appointed sub-lieutenant, ii, 40
Lavioleta, ii, 366; note 38 as to, 370
Laxroy, Monsieur, i, 55; note 8 as to, 54
Layones, i, 150
La Activa, a galley, ii, 123
La Balme, Monsieur, Louis Motlin de, failure of his expedition, i, 200
La Broun, Joseph, i, 38
La Cadena de Rocas, name of Rocky Mountains, ii, 192
La Cassagne, Michel, biographical notice of, ii, 23
La Chaise, August, ii, 134
La Chapelle, Basil, reports 1500 men at Vincennes, ii, 72
La Cheniere, ii, 301, 303, 304; his speech, 305
La Cheveux Blancs, Indian Chief, ii, 301, 303; his speech, ii, 305
La Coste, Francois, i, 328; biographical notice of, 329; note 6
La Croix, i, 56, 59; note 40
La Croix, Jean Baptiste, i, 57; note 73 as to, 60, 94, 103; note 57 as to, 106; i, 122; appointed sub-lieutenant, ii, 40; ii, 376, note 95 as to, 383
La Croix, Juan Luis, i, 89, 95; note 36 as to, i, 98, 103; note 54 as to, 106, 122; trade with Canzes in 1777, 139, 184; note 28 as to, 191
La Croix, Madame, ii, 366
La Croix, W., petitions against Commercial Company, ii, 197
La Cruz, Jaime, widow, i, 228; note 21 as to, 330
La De Route, Jacobo, ii, 394; note 67 as to, 400
La De Route, Joseph, ii, 395
La De Route, Paul, i, 185; biographical notice of, 191; ii, 75, ii, 394; note 70 as to, 400
La Flecha, a galliot, ii, 87, 313; effects belonging to, ii, 353
La Forge, Don Pierre Antoine, appointed ensign of New Madrid Militia, ii, 37, 335, 393; note 22 as to, 398
La Fourcade, ii, 62
La Grange, Francisco, a Frenchman, i, 224
La Gran Mano, Chief of the Sioux in 1777, i, 145
La Hausie, i, 38
L'Aime, Joseph, ii, 378; note 129 as to, 385
La Jeunesse, Mary, i, 54
La Lotte, a laborer in the dock-yards, ii, 80
La Louisiana, a privateer frigate, ii, 227
La Marche, Antoine, ii, 388; note 5 as to, 390
La Montana, Juan, i, 56
L'Andreville, Andre, against Commercial Company, ii, 197
L'Annee des Galeres, i, xxiii
L'Anse a la Graisse, New Madrid, i, 280, ii, 27; liable to be first attacked by invaders, 28
La Pate d'Inde, chief of the Pottowatomies, ii, 94
La Pierre, Jean, i, 185; biographical notice, 192
La Pierre, Joseph, i, 187; ii, 374; note 32 as to, 380, 393; note 36 as to, ii, 399
La Pierre, Juan Baptiste, i, 186; note 79 as to, 193
La Plante, Joseph, a courier, ii, 74, 393; note 26 as to, 399
La Plante, Nicolas, ii, 368; note 69 as to, 372
La Puvre, Pedro, i, 328
L'Arche, i, 38
La Republica, Indians, trade of, i, 143; number of, 143
La Riviére a la Pomme, ii, 94

La Roche, Joseph, trades with the Hotos (Otoes) in 1777, **i**, 139, note 4 as to 140
La Roche, Juan Baptiste, **i**, 57
La Rose, **i**, 122; note **i**, as to, 123
La Rose, Touissant, **i**, 187, note 95 as to 194
La Royer, Picar, **i**, 38
La Salina, Trudeau's report as to, **ii**, 248
La Source, a disturber among the Indians, **ii**, 55, 56
La Source, Juan Baptiste, **i**, 56, note 50 as to 159
La Source, Louis, **i**, 95, 103, 123
La Source, Michel, importance of securing his punishment, **ii**, 57
La Source, Regis, **i**, 88; note 27 as to, 91, 94
La Vallée, Don Juan, **i**, 321; made sub-lieutenant of New Madrid militia, **ii**, 34; promoted, 37, 331, 338, 344, 350; storekeeper and commandant, 393; note 29 as to, 398
Las Casas River, **i**, 410; **ii**, 16, 115
Las Isles a la Course, Piernas arrives at, **i**, 66
L'Avoie, **ii**, 88
Lead, amount shipped in 1772, **i**, 55
Lead shipped in 1774, **i**, 87
Lead, small amount mined on account of Indians, **i**, 100
Lead mines, **i**, 282; Trudeau's report of, **ii**, 250
Lebeau, Pierre, **i**, 185, note 39 as to 192, 251
Lebraud, Pedro, **i**, 94; note 21 as to, 97, **ii**, 367
Lebrod, Louis, **i**, 329
Lecler, Madame, **ii**, 376; note 23 as to, 370
Lecompte, Guillermo, **ii**, 374
Lecompte, Joseph, **i**, 188, note 140 as to 196
Lecompte, Nicolas, **ii**, 298, 374; note 33 as to, 380
Lecon, Cornelius, **i**, 336
Leconte, Guillermo, **i**, 184; note 13 as to, 190, 188; note 139 as to, 196
Leconte, Joseph, **i**, 188; note 140 as to, 196
Leconte, Nicolas, **i**, 184; note 12 as to, 190
Lecuyer, **ii**, 187; conductor of boats of expedition of Commercial Company, 190
Leduc, Cyril, widow, **ii**, 393; note 16 as to, 398
Leduc, Joseph, **ii**, 393; note 15 as to, 398
Leduc, Philip, **ii**, 393; note 15 as to, 398
Lee, Josiah, fils, **ii**, 405; Senior, note 76 as to, 411
Lee, Patrick, against Commercial Company, **ii**, 197, 299
Lefevre, Clarissa, **i**, 54
Lefevre, Pedro, **ii**, 342
Loisel, Regis, proposes a method to preserve trade on Missouri to Spaniards, **ii**, 358
Lemay, Louis, **i**, 187; biographical notice of, 195, note 110
Lemieux, Pedro, clears ground for Fort Celeste, **ii**, 213
Lemoine, Joseph, **ii**, 374; note 34 as to, 380
Lemoine, Surgeon, **i**, 395
Lene, Jacob, **ii**, 407; note 107 as to, 413
Lendroy, David, **i**, 337
Lenze, Thomas, **ii**, 396
Leonard, Gilbert, chief accountant, **ii**, 180
Leon, Pedro, Corporal, **i**, 42
Lepir, Juan, **i**, 185; note 46 as to, 192
Lepy, chief of the Winnebagos, **i**, 146
Lequin, Pedro, **ii**, 393; note 27 as to, 398
Lerou, Pierre, **i**, 185; note 43 as to, 192
Lesieur, Antoine, **i**, 187, note 99 as to 194
Lesieur, Francois, **ii**, 383; note 4 as to, 398
Lesieur, Joseph, sent as a messenger to the Loups, **ii**, 64
Letter of Carondelet in regard to American settlement, **i**, 413
Letters, official, to Lorimier, **ii**, 42
Leturno, Chief of the Sauteurs, **i**, 147
Levau, Pedro, **ii**, 389; note 30 as to, 391
Leveille, Carlos, **ii**, 376; note 95 as to, 383
Lewares, Mincure, **ii**, 396
Lewis, Jacquin, **ii**, 395
Lewis, Joseph, **ii**, 396
Lewis, William, **ii**, 387 and note 7
Le Chaneers, **ii**, 309
Le Corbeau, the Crow, **ii**, 67, 97; arrives at Cape Girardeau, 99, 297
Le Drot, a grape grower, **i**, 395
Le Grand Considere, **ii**, 297
Le Grand de Tour, probable location, **ii**, 69

Le Grand, Joseph, ii, 394; note 43 as to, 399
L'Empeigne, ii, probably Jean Baptiste Racine, ii, 63; leaves with dispatches, 68, 64, 67, 75, 78
Le Page, i, 38
Le Petit pas or trot, as fast as horses allowed to be driven in St. Louis, i, 243
Liar, stands for Cottonwood, i, 49
Liateau, Don Louis, interpreter, i, 231
Liberge, i, 94; note 8 as to, 96
Liberge, Joseph, ii, 375
Lieutenant-Governor, office of, for upper Louisiana created, i, xviii; to make a report every three months, 80; in political matters, how to govern himself, 83; office created, for St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve, 108
Light, Peter, i, 283, 301
Limbach, Junior, ii, 406; note 80 as to, ii, 412
Liret, Louis, i, 185; note 47 as to, 192
Lisa, Manuel, signs memorial against Commercial Company, ii, 197
License required to enter trade with savages, i, 15
Listau, Louis, ii, 217
List of war contributors to aid Spain, ii, 292
Lists of papers delivered to Perez by Cruzat, i, 258
Lists of effect received by Perez from Cruzat, i, 265
Litte, Francisco, i, 88
Little Fish, or Petit Poisson, ii, 65
Little Osages, i, 150, 135, 136; trade with in 1777, 139; number of, in 1777, 141
Live stock to be supplied immigrants, i, 156
Livres, equivalent of sueldo, i, 126
Liverge, i, 102
Llaguno y Amisola, Don Eugenio, ii, 220
Lloyd, Samuel, Junior, i, 337
Loan, to promote building of flour mills, i, 392
Location of the Sioux, i, 145
Location of the villages of the Canzes, i, 143
Logan, Jacob, i, 336; note as to, 339
Loignon, Carlos, ii, 396
Loise, Alexis, i, 94, 187, note 91 as to 193, 102, note 15 as to 104.
Loisel, Alexo., ii, 378; note 133 as to, 385
Loisel, Jose, i, 88; note 31 as to, 91
Loisel, Joseph, i, 56; note 60 as to, 60
Loisel, Pedro, ii, 378
Loisel, Regis, his letter on boundary of Louisiana, ii, 359
Loiselle, Santiago, ii, 376; note 86 as to, 383
Longoumois, Monsieur, i, 102
Longue, Felix, ii, 394; note 50 as to, 399
Longwell, James, i, 336
Lopez, Angulo, ii, 311
Lopez, Francisco, a smith, i, 2
Lorimier, Louis, i, xxii, interpreter for the Shawnees and Cherokees, ii, 43; secures trade permit at Cape Girardeau, ii, 47; ordered to watch conduct of Americans threatening hostilities, 49; trade permit to, 50, 54; trade of, not to be interfered with between the Missouri and Arkansas, 51; warned not to trade with Americans, 51; naturalized a Spaniard, 52; urged to go to L'Anse a la Graisse, 57; journal of, 59; harangues Indians, 69; receives a letter from Point du Jour, chief of Loups, 77, 79; councils with Cherokees, 83; address to Cherokees, 85; his accounts examined by Portell, 91; at Ste. Genevieve, to harangue the Loups and Shawnees, 96; i, xviii; Carondelet says he is selfish, ii, 131; reliance on, to control Shawnees, 226; reports no villages in his district, 313; his service in Maskou expedition, 319, 321; his services detailed by De Lassus, 322, 366; note 26 as to, 408
Loran, i, 102; note 23 as to, 105
Lorenzo, Baptiste, i, 187; note 109 as 194
Lorens, Juan Baptiste, ii, 375; note 63 as to, 382
Lorrose, Todos Santos, i, 187; note 95 as to, 194
Lorr, Valentine, ii, 406
Losta, John, ii, 403; note 33 as to, ii, 409
Los Arcos, i, 89
Los Alemanes, Parish of, i, 115
Lots in New Madrid donated free to the first 600 settlers, i, 302
Lots, of settlement at fort on Missouri, how to be laid out, i, 10
Louisbourg, name by which village Carondelet known, ii, 40
Louisiana, religious condition of, i, 114; laws and ancient customs of, i, 119; boundary of, ii, 355; intended

to be a bulwark for Mexico, by Spaniards, i, extent of according to Carondelet, ii, 9; extent of, on east shore, 10; under French dominion almost a cipher, 10; ceded to Spain, 11; extent of, 11; xxii, xxiv
Louvieres, Philip, ii, 395; note 117 as to, 402
Louisville, i, 288
Loups, i, 209; their concealed designs to be discovered by Lorimier, ii, 44; suspected, 45; Trudeau suspects them, 47; to be watched, 48, 50; given 20,000 porcelain beads, 50; special council held by Lorimier with them, 67; at Cape Girardeau, 68; receive with joy, tobacco painted red, 71; on scout on the Ohio, 73; ask Valle to come to Cape Girardeau where all the Indians will assemble in March, 74; hold a council at New Madrid, 75, 78; fed by "His Catholic Majesty," 79; how affected by the death of a daughter of a chief, 81; arrive at Cape Girardeau from Whiteriver of Indiana, 87; come from the Ohio river to Cape Girardeau, 89; arrive at Cape Girardeau, 91; orator of, explains rapid departure of, 91; come back from St. Louis to Cape Girardeau, 93; make a patriotic contribution, 297
Loyd, John, ii, 407; note 108 as to, 413
Lucas, Antonio, i, 42
Lucas, Charles, ii, 407; note 112 as to, 413
Luese, Alexander, i, 187; note 91 as to, 193
Luermas, William, ii, 396
Lusere, Antonio, i, 187; note 99 as to, 194
Luziere, Pierre, ii, 293; see De Luziere
Lyman, Gen., i, 211; note 1

M

Mace, James, i, 337
Mackay, James, Journal of, ii, 181; biographical notice of, 181; constructs a fort on the Missouri, 187, 245, 253, 298
Maddin, Thomas, ii, 294, note 42 as to 296
Madrid Gazette, i, 170
Magee, John, ii, 405; note 70 as to, 411
Magee, Joseph, ii, 407
Mahas, trade with, in 1777, i, 139, 144; Mackay among, ii, 184; number of in 1797, 253
Mainville, Joseph, ii, 374; note 35 as to, 380
Maisonville, ii, 75
Maisonville, Francois, ii, 393; note 38 as to, 399
Maize, Little Osages plant, i, 142; Canzes, plant, 143; cultivated by the Panis, 144; maize and pumpkins raised by the Mahas, 144; to be supplied to immigrants settling in upper Louisiana, 156
Malato, Antonio, i, 102; note 39 as to 106
Malbeat, Moises, ii, 394; note 71 as to, 400
Mallet, Antoniô, i, 328; biographical note of, 329
Malvan, Francois, ii, 389; note 48 as to, 392
Malvo, i, 200
Manchac, i, 217, 233
Mandan, tribe of, ii, 128; English among, 181
Map, of river from New Madrid down, i, 410
Marais des Liards, meaning of, i, 49; production of, in 1796, ii, 143; slaves at, in 1796, 142; population, in 1796, 141; report of Trudeau as to, 250
Maramec, population on 1796, ii, 141; slaves, 142; production of, 143, 301, 304
Marcheteau, i, 56; note 38 as to, 59
Marcheteau, Joseph, i, 185; note 34 as to, 191
Marcheteau, Kiery, i, 188, note 127 as to 195
Marcheteau, Madame, i, 88
Marechal, Antoine, i, 192; ii, 377; note 101 as to, 384
Marechal, Francois, biographical notice of, i, 188, note 121 as to 195; ii, 377; note 110 as to, 384
Marechal, Jacques, i, 185, note 56 as to 192; ii, 389; note 29 as to, 391
Marechal, Joseph, i, 192
Marechal, Louis, i, 195
Marechal, Madame, widow, i, 56, 94
Marcil, Louis, i, 188; note 115 as to, 195
Marco, Christoval Roque, i, 334
Marcou, Pedro, ii, 365; note 16 as to, 369

Marcu, Antonio, i, 101; note 7 as to, 104
Mardo, Simon, i, 57
Margarita, Claudio, i, 329
Marie, Alexis, ii, 373; note 3 as to, 379
Marie, Joseph, E., petitions against the Commercial Company, ii, 197
Marin, Yupl., a master carpenter, i, 43
Marly, Lucas, ii, 376; note 79 as to, 383
Marly, Pedro, trades with Big Osages, i, 139
Marnesia, Marquis Lezay de, interested in the Scioto company, i, 362; biographical sketch of, 363, 375
Marquet, Bernardin, de i, 336
Marquet, Louis de, i, 336
Marquis, Luis, i, 56; note 74 as to, 60, 88; note 39 as to, 91, 95
Marriage, a solemn contract among the French, i, 118, 119
Married workmen, to be regarded with special favor, i, 9
Martigny, Don Juan Baptiste, i, 81 88; note as to, 89, 94, 196; trades with the Mahas in 1777, 139, 241; ii, 388; note 2 as to, 390
Martigny, Francois, i, 38
Martigny, Mons., i, 102
Martin, Angela, widow, ii, 378; note 131 as to, 385
Martin, Jacques, i, 54
Martinas, Dech., i, 336; note 34 as to, 339
Martinez, Francisco, 320; biographical note of, 321
Martinez, Manuel, a corporal, i, 42
Mascoutens, i, 44, 146
Masedt, Juan, i, 335; note 11 as to, 338
Maskous, make war on Americans, ii, 99; expedition against, 318; meet De Lassus, 320
Mason, Don Joseph, i, 229
Massarosanga, an Indian chief, ii, 65
Masters, held responsible for good conduct of slaves, i, 244
Matis, Jerome, ii, 90, 293
Mathews, Daniel, ii, 396
Mathews, widow, ii, 396
Maurice, Alexis, ii, 75
Mauricio, Luis, i, 57
Maye, Mons., stationed on the Illinois, i, 201
Maxent, principal merchant of New Orleans, i, xvi; takes large supplies north for presents and to trade with the Indians, 210, 212, 213
Mean, Jacobo, ii, 395
Means, Pierre, ii, 377; note 111 as to, 384
Medals, distributed among savages, i, 11; to be given the Sacs, 199; sent to Lorimier to be given the Shawnees, ii, 52
Meeting, in St. Louis, to organize the Commercial Company, ii, 150
Mellet, Juan Baptiste, ii, 397
Meloche, Antonio, i, 328; note 22 as to, 330
Mellon, Arthur, ii, 394
Memorial, of Tardiveau, De Lassus and Audrain addressed to Carondelet, i, 374, 379, of merchants of St. Louis, against monopoly of the Commercial Company, ii, 194
Menager, a farmer, i, 395
Menard, Louis, ii, 378; note 148 as to, 386
Menard, M., i, 55, 224; arrives at Cape Girardeau in 1793, ii, 66; brings a boat load of corn to Cape Girardeau, 77; delivers corn, 84
Menard, Pierre, i, 336, note 32 as to 339
Menominees, i, 145
Mentucke, Abner, M., ii, 396
Merchants of St. Louis, present when the Spanish Commercial Company was discussed, ii, 150; present a memorial, 194
Merchandize, used to pay wages, i, 7; to be obtained from New Orleans, 77; distributed by the English to promote an attack on Louisiana, 176
Mercier, Mons., i, 94; note 19 as to, 96
Mercier, Charles, ii, 377; note 109 as to, 384
Mercier, Louis, i, 186; note 75 as to, 193
Mercier, Pierre, not at work, ii, 72
Mercier, Santiago, ii, 368; note 66 as to, 371
Meredith, Daniel, ii, 394
Meredith, Roland, ii, 407; note 92 as to, 412
Mesnor, W., i, 337
Metais, Jose, ii, 367
Metapuissa, a chief of the Shawnees, ii, 54, 60
Metchigamia, i, 44
Metode, Gabriel, ii, 389; note 32 as to, 391
Metiver, Louis, ii, 395
Metiver, Miguel, ii, 396

Metoyer, Jeannot, ii, 356
Mettes, Joseph, i, 328; note 15 as to, 330
Metzinger, Don Juan Baptiste, sub-lieutenant under Howard, ii, 126; his ability described, ii, 130
Mexican Regiment, ii, 136
Miamis, i, 44; ii, 60; come over to the west bank of the river, 63; scouts find nothing on Ohio, 69, 306
Michau, a farmer, i, 396, note 11
Michel, Francisco, ii, 397
Michel, Joseph, i, 186, note 67 as to 192; ii, 395
Michillimackinac, i, 176, 200, 255
Michon, Alexandro, i, 186
Michon, Lorenzo, i, 185; note 57 as to, 192
Miel, Juan, ii, 367
Militia, how organized in St. Louis, i, 81; in Ste. Genevieve, 81; companies of St. Louis, 182; stationed above St. Louis on the river, 201; at Fort Carondelet, ii, 107
Military condition of Louisiana, ii, 9
Military plan of Carondelet, to protect Louisiana, ii, 14
Mill, at Ste Genevieve, i, 380
Mill creek, ii, 137
Millstones, found on the Ohio, i, 409
Miller, Benjamin, i, 334
Miller, James, M. i, 336
Miller, Mrs James, ii, 405; note 53 as to, 410
Miller, John, ii, 406
Millet, Juan Baptiste, i, 328; note 12 as to, 330
Milliken, Alexander, ii, 407; note 105 as to, 413
Mine La Motte, i, xvi; where located, i, 100
Minmin, a Shawnee, scouts along the Ohio, ii, 66; 67
Minum, Juan, i, a soldier, i, 42
Miranda, Francisco, ii, 346, 348, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354
Miro, Don Estaban, letter to, of Joseph de Galvez, i, 208; biographical notice of, 208, 211, 213; proposes a grand council of the Chies Indians, 215, 221, 231, 232; reports overflow of the Mississippi, in 1785, 235; re-enacts O'Reilly's ordinance in regard to Indians slaves, 249; his plan to settle Louisiana, 277; objects to land sales, 277; objects to Gardoqui's grant to Morgan, for lack of clearness, 278; criticises Morgan's scheme, 297; letter to Perez, in regard to Morgan's grant, 314; protests against Morgan's grant, 275; objects to Morgan's plan of the colonists to govern themselves, 276; forbids sale of lands, 298; authorizes Morgan to introduce settlers into Louisiana, 308; letter to Gayoso, relating to the attack of Americans on Indians, 316, 327; appoints Vasquez, captain of the militia, ii, 29; i, xxi
Misera, nickname of Ste Genevieve, i, 64; Piernas arrives at, 67. 70. 71. 75
Missa-Rosanga, a chief of the Peorias, ii, 60
Mississippi, navigation of, not free, i, 237
Missouri river, artery to the Rocky Mountains, i, xvii; forts established on, during the French dominion, xvi; name, how spelled by Spanish officials, i, 20, note; within the Spanish territory, 22; English invasion of territory on, 22, 23, 74; Hudson Bay company on, ii, 181; 255; proximity of, to New Mexico, 357
Misuris, i, 44, 130, 136, 135; trade of, in 1777, 139; number of at that time, 142; trade less important than that of the Big Osages, 163
Mitchel, Medad, arrested, ii, 4; his various employments detailed, 5; a surveyor, 6
Mobile, i, 216, 219
Mock, Guillermo, ii, 393; note 35 as to, 399
Mockery of savages not allowed by Spaniards, i, 10
Moises, Carlos, i, 329; note 44 as to, 329
Moitieu, Joseph, i, 123
Mole, Maria, ii, 397
Molina, Don Bernardo, a sub-lieutenant under Howard, at St. Louis, ii, 126; character described, 130
Molina, Juan Manuel, i, 42
Mollen, Jacobo, ii, 396
Money, expended by Cruzat to pay officers and troops, i, 161
Money, destined for Illinois country captured by Colbert's freebooters, 218; how they distributed it, 228
Money, advanced to build mills, i, 384

Monier, or Munie, biographical notice of, ii, 1
Monier, Juan Baptiste, petitions against Commercial company, ii, 197
Monmiral, Mirel, ii, 368; note 77 as to, 372
Monopolies, prohibited by the Spanish regulations, i, 77
Montardy, Don Pedro, 183; biographical note of, 183, note 2; 184, 241
Montbrun, Don Estaban, i, 198
Montgomery, David, i, 320
Montgomery, Col., killed by the Cherokees, ii, 99
Montreal, i, xvii
Monturiel, Joseph, i, 328; note 27 as to, 330
Moore, Guillaume, ii, 294
Moquier, Joseph, i, 102; note 45 as to, 106
Morales, Don Juan Ventura, 409; attests Foucher's accounts, ii, 216, 292
Morand, Louis, i, 329
More, Michel, i, 336; note 46 as to, 340
Moreau, i, 88, 94
Moreau, Baptiste, i, 187
Moreau, Don Francisco, appointed to form a company of militia at Florissant, ii, 32, 377; note 122 as to, 384, 365; note 3 as to, 369
Moreau, Pedro, ii, note 24 as to, 370
Morel, Juan, i, 95; note 26 as to, 97, 102
Moreno, Miguel, i, 42
Morgan, George, his memorial to Gardoqui, i, 275; how Miro, proposes to treat him on arrival in New Orleans, 278; letter of, to Miro, 279; receives a letter from Gardoqui to Miro, 284; letter of, to Gardoqui, 386; biographical notice of, 287; visits Perez, 292; goes by land through the country to St. Louis from Chepousa creek, 292; courtesy of Perez, 292; plans to sell land, 295; his comment on appointment of Foucher by Miro, 296; his plan for surveying the country, 299; provides for the protection of trees along public roads, and streets, 305; appointed commandant of New Madrid by Miro, in case of death of Foucher, 308
Morin, Antonio, ii, 376; note 87 as to, 383
Morin, Francisco, ii, 396
Moro, Don Manuel Gonzalez, royal storekeeper, ii, 337, 346
Moro, i, 102; note 29 as to, 105
Morris, Samuel, i, 319
Morrison, William, ii, 356
Mosi, i, 45
Motard, Joseph, biographical note 3; ii, 159; petitions against Commercial company, ii, 197
Mote, or Motier, Joseph, ii, 378; note 136, as to, 385
Mouis, same as Des Moines river, i, 332
Movas, Andres, ii, 332
Moyuiers, Joseph, i, 95
Myso, Jean Baptiste, i, 334; note 5 as to, 338
Munie, Juan, granted exclusive trade with the Poncas, ii, 2
Murder, of men, below Ecores by the Loups, ii, 54
Murphy, Michel, ii, 396
Murphy, William, sen., ii, 294; note 38 as to, 396, 413; note 29 as to, 409
Murphy, William, junior, ii, 294; note 39 as to, 396
Muskets, not to be sold savages, i, 15; not to be introduced among the tribes of the interior, 26
Muskingum, Morgan holds a council with Indians on, i, 287

Mc

McCarty, John, ii, 405; note 75 as to, 411
McCleland, Juan, ii, 396
McCormick, Martin, ii, 395
McCormick, Mathew, i, 337; note 73 as to, 340
McCourtney, Joseph, i, 336, 337; note 47 as to, 340; ii, 394; note 77 as to, 401
McCoy, Don Robert, i, 336; lieutenant of first company of New Madrid fusileers, ii, 35; transferred to cavalry of New Madrid, 35, 214; commandant of New Madrid, 273, 279; instructions to, 280, 393; note 3 as to, 398
McCully, Major John, i, 283
McDonald, James, i, 319; biographical note of, 321
McFarlen, Jacobo, ii, 396
McGui (McGee), George, i, 337; note 87 as to, 341
McGillivray, Alexander, i, 226
McKenzie, Allen, ii, 404; note 35 as to,.410

McLane, Jaque, ii, 293; note 24 as to, 295
McMillen, James, ii, 406; note 82 as to, 412
McMultrie, David, ii, 406; note 89 as to, 4[illegible]

N

Nacatauchen, chief of the Foxes, i, 146
Names, of soldiers and workmen at forts on Missouri i, 42; of Indian tribes to whom presents are to be made, 44; of boats carrying goods to New Orleans, 55; in 1774, 87
Nassa-Rosanga, chief of the Peorias, ii, 82
Natchez, deserters from Missouri captured at, i, 32; Pedro Piernas in command at, 33; his success there, 34, 131; rebels flee from, 212; people of, unfriendly to Grand-Pre, why, 215; rebellion at, how Miro proposes to tranquilize the people, 215; American families arrive at, 218, 224; the rebels of, 228; people oppressed by Grand-Pre, 230, 308
Nachitoches, i, 255
Nachitos, parish of, i, 116
Navarro, Martin, Intendant, i, xx; his report of the attack on St. Louis, 167, 170, 173; letter to Cruzat, 197, 199, 206
Navigation, of Mississippi, not free, i, 237
Neeley, Thomas, ii, 396
Negro population of upper Louisiana in 1791, i, 325
Negro slaves, necessary to cultivate hemp, i, 159; provision made for, 160
Negresses and mulatresses, allowed in Capuchin house in New Orleans, i, 118
Neptune, ii, 377; note 97 as to, 383
Nepveu, Bernardo, i, 328; note 36 as to, 331
Nesty, Clement, ii, 389
Netompsica, Indian messenger from the St. Francois, ii, 72, 77; a chief of the Shawnees, 82, 94
New Bourbon, population in 1791, i, 324; slaves in 1791, i, 325; products of, 326; population in 1796, ii, 141; slaves at that time, 142; production then, 143; established to give command to De Luzieres, 248; Trudeau's report concerning, 248; makes a patriotic contribution to support Spain in war, 293
New Madrid, founded by Morgan, i, xxi; expedition of De Lassus to punish Indians, xxiv; description of country there, 280; laid out, 281, 317; settlers take oath of allegiance, 319; new settlers of, in 1791, 327; favored for a French settlement, 385; mills being erected there, 400; stopped by Genet agitation, 408; Medad Mitchel at, ii, 5; galleys, stationed at, 15; fort at, 16, 18; Osages make incursion into district, 100, 101, 103; Osages steal horses there, 105, 111, 120, 122; troops at, and munitions of war, 124; importance of defence of, 127, 130 131, 134; not visited by Bishop, 220; inventory of civil and military archives, 273; transferred to officers of the United States, 331; inventory of effects of, 333; valuation of royal buildings at, 336; value of material in church, 351; old material delivered at, in 1805, 350; summary of population in 1797, 397
New Mexico, Journal of trip from, to St. Louis, by Vial, i, 350; ii, 356
New Orleans, its advantages, i, xvi; merchandise to be obtained from, 77; danger of, in Morgan's opinion, 290; ease with which it can be attacked from above, 290; voyage to, from upper Louisiana, great and costly, ii, 255
Neybour, ii, 387, and note 8
Nicholas, Juan, i, 338; note 105 as to, 341
Nichon, Lorenzo, ii, 389; note 34 as to, 392
Nitar, Pedro, i, 101; note 3 as to, 103
Noba, Juan Casa, i, 188
Noel, Ambrosio, i, 329
Nogales, i, 411 ; ii, 16; fort at, 25
Noise, Jacobo (L'Abbe), i, 88; note as to, 90, 94, 102, 186; note 80 as to, 193
Noland, Philip, i, 209; biographical sketch of, ii, 288; his invasion of Texas, 290
Norie, Alexander, ii, 343
Northwest company, invades Spanish possessions on Missouri, i, xxiii
Notes for equipment to be certified, i, 248
Nubeault, Francisco, i, 329; note 38 as to, 331
Number of killed in attack on St. Louis, i, 168
Nusan, Jonas, ii, 293
Nyswanger, Joseph, ii, 405

O

Oath of allegiance, administered to various parties at New Madrid, ii, 319, 327
Obuchon, or Aubuchon, Antonio, i, 103
Obuchon, Pierre, i, 102, 123; see Aubuchon
Obuchon, widow, i, 103
Oca, same as Kaskaskia, i, 64, 75, 129, 148, 177, 178, 179, 236
Officers of militia, i, 81; of Howard expedition, to be quartered in the houses of leading citizems of St. Louis, ii, 125; in upper Louisiana poorly paid, 257
Ohio river, tribes on, i, 128; mouth of to be guarded by galleys, ii, 15
Old mines, a settlement at, i, xvi
Olive, Juan Baptiste, ii, 332, 333, 338, 339
Oliver, dit Bellepeche, Amtoine, i, 187; note 82 as to, 193
Ono, Louis, ii, 389; note 47 as to, 392
Onraw, George, ii, 396; note 108 as to, 401
Ope, George, i, 338; note 104 as to, 341
Opelousas, i, 27, 155, 157
Opton, Robert, ii, 395
Ordinance of 1787, effect of, in directing immigration to upper Louisiana, i, xxi
Ordinances, enacted by Cruzat, for government of St. Louis, i, 240
Orra, Avrry, i, 185; note 54 as to, 192
Ortiz, Joseph, i, 188; note 122 as to, 195
Ortez, Juan Baptiste, expert appointed to examine barracks of St. Louis, ii, 269
Osages, i, 44, 74; steal horses, 142, 144; principal chief of, imprisoned by Piernas, 163; Little, of less importance than Big, 163; trouble with Big, 163; Miro forbids trade with, 251; outrages perpetrated by, reported to the Marquis of Sonora, 253; ii, 49; war with, contemplated, 50, 51; war discussed, 52; war with, 56; maltreat Shawnees, 73; threaten to strike the Peorias and Shawnees, 81; steal horses, 81; alarm at, 83; scalps of, taken by Miamis, 88; Chickasaws intend war against, 92; set out to attack them, 93; fort among, 100; their incursions on the Spanish settlements, 100; number of, 100; make a proposition for peace, 101; depredations of, described by Carondelet, 103; esteem in which August Chouteau is held among, 104; Spaniards fear, they will aid Genet, 110; exclusive trade among, belongs to Chouteaus, 252; treachery of, Trudeau's report as to, 251; extent of raids, 309; murder white men on the Maramec, 309; incited by Americans to plunder silver convoys, 357
Otchio, i, 226
Otero, Domingo, i, 42
Otoes, i, 44, 64; trade with in, 1777, 139; trade of, 143; located at the mouth of the Platte, ii, 252
Otonere, Louis, i, 186
Ottowas, i, 44, 74, 147
Ouapipelene, a Shawnee chief, ii, 74
Ouesnenperis, an Indian, ii, 67
Ouilette, Francisco, i, 328; note as to, 330
Outaoua, i, 44; sing the war song at Cape Girardeau, ii, 79
Outfitters, priority to which they are entitled i, 248
Overflow, of Mississippi in 1785, i, 235
Overflow, at the mouth of the Missouri, i, xiii
Overflow, change of location of forts on account of, i, 29
Owens, Robert, ii, 387, and note 4
O'Bune, i, 337; note 64 as to, 340
O'Fallon, i, 208
O'Hara, Henry, i, 192
O'Hogan, Michael, ii, 405
O'Reilly, Alexander, Count of, biographical sketch of, i, 62; instructions of, i, xviii; report of Rui to, 62; general instructions for the government of upper Louisiana, 76, 111; expels Jews and Protestants, 115, 127, 128, 132, 204; order as to Indian slaves, re-enacted by Miro, 249; how, in Morgan's opinion, 200 men could have destroyed his fleet at New Orleans, 290

P

Pachara, Ysaiah, i, 337; note 85 as to, 341
Packard, Isaac, ii, 294
Paillan, i, 38

Paincourt, Piernas arrives at, **i,** 67, 75.
Paispetetmeta, a chief of a Loup band, **ii,** 99
Palacio, Pascual, **i,** 336; note 49 as to, 340
Panimaha, **i,** 44; residence of, where, 63
Panis Piquies, kill Layones, a trapper, **i,** 149
Panis, Trade with in 1777, **i,** 139; **ii,** 356
Panneton, Claude, **ii,** 377; note 112 as to, 384
Papikoua, a highly regarded Shawnee, **ii,** 75
Papin, Joseph Marie, i, 185; biographical notice of, 192; **ii,** 373; note 7 as to, 379
Papin, Julia, **i,** 54
Papin, Juan Maria, **i,** 184; note 29 as to, 191; disloyalty set forth, 126, 131; **ii,** 373; note 22 as to, 380
Papin, Pierre, **i,** 185; note 40 as to, 192
Paquette, Francois, **ii,** 394; note 47 as to, 399
Paquin, Francois, **ii,** 394; note 59 as to, 400
Paquin, Nicolas, **ii,** 365; note 9 as to, 369
Par, Joseph, **i,** 185
Paran, Todos Santos, **i,** 185; note 42 as to, 192
Parent, Emily Faustin, **i,** 54
Parent, Estevan, **ii,** 365; note 22 as to, 370
Parent, Touissant, **i,** 185; biographical notice of, 192; **ii,** 377; note 99 as to, 384
Parish, Alexander, **ii,** 403; note 7 as to, 408
Parker, Samuel, **ii,** 338
Parker, Jacobo, **ii,** 396
Parkes, or Parker, Juan, **ii,** 395
Partier, **i,** 216
Pasar, Etienne, **i,** 336; note 50 as to, 340
Passports, authority of Post Commandants to issue, **i,** 238
Passports, to traders, fee for, **ii,** 357
Patin, Francisco, **ii,** 343
Patriotic donations, **ii,** 292
Patterson, Benjamin, **ii,** 396
Patterson, David, **ii,** 405; note 67 as to, 411
Patterson, John, **ii,** 405; note 68 as to, 411
Patterson, **ii,** 407
Paty, Solomon, see Petit
Paulus, Peter, proposes to establish 300 families in Louisiana, **i,** 276
Paul, Jean, **ii,** 294; note 34 as to, 196
Pawnees, or Panis, fur trade of, **i,** 144
Payeto, Don Cayetano, Commandant of Engineers, **i,** 342; approves the fortifications of St. Louis, 348
Payne, see Peigne
Payne, **ii,** 7, 8
Pearce, James, **ii,** 396
Pecan, or Pecamie, **ii,** 53; his complaint against Spanish commandants, 77, 79, 94; complains that Chouteau sustains Osages in their rogueries, 95; goes to Ste. Genevieve, 96
Pecositais, a Shawnee chief, **ii,** 79
Peddlers, must marry, **i,** 16
Peigne, Nicolas, **ii,** 395; note 112 as to, 402
Pelderin, Roberto, **ii,** 396
Peltie, or Peltier, Pedro, **i,** 187; note 88 as to, 193
Penalty, for selling brandy to savages, **i,** 15
Penalyver y Cardenas, Luis, Bishop of Louisiana, letter to Gayoso, biographical note, **ii,** 223
Pencour, another form of Paincourt, nickname of St. Louis, **i,** 20
Pennaoues, messenger for Lorimier, **ii,** 61
Pennela, Alexandro, **i,** 42
Pensacola, **i,** captured by Galvez, 135, 173; Campbell, General at, 216; Rousseau's services at, **ii,** 323
Peorias, **i,** 44, 148; **ii,** 60; come over to West bank, 63; arrive with Chickasaw scalps, 72
Pepin, Jean Marie, see Papin
Pepin, Pedro, see Papin
Pepin, Estevan, **ii,** 389; note 40 as to, 392
Perelle, Jeremie, **ii,** 293; note 25 as to, 295
Perez, Bernardo, **i,** 42
Perez, Don Manuel, treats Morgan with great courtesy, **i,** 280, 332; reports condition of fortifications of St. Louis, 271; letter to Morgan, 307; approves the location by Morgan of New Madrid, 307; furnishes supplies to Morgan, 310; lists of provisions furnished Morgan by, 312, 318, 343; his petition to the King, 369; his services, 369; Alcalde in New Orleans, 372; reports discovery of Ponkas, **ii,** 2;

holds Indians in St. Louis to wait for Lorimier, 43, 45; reports condition of the church in St. Louis, 223; biographical note, 224
Perez, Manuel, a Spanish soldier, i, 320. 321
Perez, Pedro, a stone mason, i, 45
Perez, Ramon, a sergeant, i, 320
Perodeau, Joseph, Junior, i, 328, 329
Perodeau, Joseph, Senior, i, 328, 329
Peredo, Jose, ii, 366; note 35 as to, 370
Peron, Joseph, 187
Perrault, Don Luis, i, 93; note 6 as to, i, 95
Perrault, dit Duchene, see note 3 as to, i, 140
Perrault, Monsieur, i, 101
Perri, or Perry, Pedro, ii, 375; note 60 as to, 382
Perron, Amable, i, 329; note 41 as to, 331
Perry County, i, 310
Pertie, Juan, i, 101; note 1 as to, 103
Peso, value of a, i, 7
Petan, Francisco, carpenter, i, 43
Petit, doctor of medicine at Gallipolis, i, 395
Petit, Jean Baptiste, i, 188; note 114 as to, 195; ii, 389; note 43 as to, 392
Petit Poisson, Little Fish, a Peoria, ii, 65
Petit, Solomon, i, 186; note 77 as to, 194
Petition of De Lassus for transfer to Louisiana regiment, ii, 239
Petition, to Trudeau to permit the organization of a Commercial Company, ii, 149
Pew, Samuel, ii, 405; note 61 as to, 411
Peyroux, Henri, [illegible] Coudreniere, instructions to, i, 23[illegible] 307, 320, 321, 335; note as to, 338; letter of, to Lorimier, ii, 43; at Cape Girardeau in 1793, 64; Don Carlos Howard cautioned as to him, 130, 321, 365; note 15 as to, 369
Phelipa, a galley, ii, 123
Piantquichia, or Piankishaws, i, 44, 74; ii, 60, 320
Picard, Alexis, i, 56; biographical sketch of, 58, note 20; 94; ii, 395
Picar la Royer, i, 38
Picart, i, 88; note 18 as to, 90
Pier, Rop, i, 123
Piernas, Don Pedro, Rui delivers fort on Missouri to him, i, 49; makes first, second and third census of upper Louisiana, 53; ordered to New Orleans, in 1774, 67; surrenders fort to St. Ange, 67; opinion of St. Ange, 73; his report on the Illinois country, 72; in command at Natchez, 66; at Paincourt, 68; royal effects attached at Paincourt, 68; settles with St. Louis traders, 69; makes no changes in government of settlements, 69; appointed Lieutenant-Governor of upper Louisiana, 111, 113, 125, 128, 130, 136; applies for appointment as Lieutenant Colonel, 131, 132, 133; his indecision in punishing Osages, 163; imprisons principal chief of Big Osages, 163, 173
Pike, Beadle carries a, i, 117
Pillsnoeth, William, i, 337
Pin, Alexander, i, 87; note 2, 89
Pineyro, Miguel, corporal, i, 42
Pinçonneau, see Rigauche
Piomingo (Payemingo), Indian chief, biographical notice of, ii, 21, 27; returns from a voyage with Blount, 28, 112, 114
Pisgignouse, i, 336; note 30 as to, 339
Placet, Miguel, i, 56, 60, note 67; 88, 95, 102; note 32 as to, 98
Placet, Miguel, father, ii, 367; note 60 as to, 371
Placet, Miguel, son, ii, 367
Plan of New Madrid, i, 203
Plan, in detail of Collot, for defense of St. Louis, ii, 233
Plouchon, Jean, i, 329; note 47 as to, 331
Plows, not allowed to be left in streets of St. Louis, i, 243
Pointe Coupee, i, 3
Pointe de Jour, a chief of the Loups, ii, 54; advises the Loups to follow the advice of their Spanish father, 68
Point of land, opposite mouth of Ohio, most important, i, 293
Poirier, Nicolas Pedro, ii, 394; note 87 as to, 401
Polletier, Eustache, i, 328; note as to, i, 330
Pollock, Oliver, biographical notice of i, 204, 206
Polo, Joseph, i, 186
Pome, Pedro, 101; note 5 as to, 103
Poncas, exclusive trade with, ii, 187; pillage Commercial Company, 190

Pondiac (Pontiac), chief of the Ottowas, i, 147
Population, of Ste. Genevieve when visited by Piernas, i, 70; increase of to be fostered, 239; of Louisiana in 1762, 10; of New Madrid, in 1797, 397
Porcelain beads, given to Loups, ii, 50
Portais, Juan, ii, 368; note 67 as to, 372
Porte, Juan, i, 185
Porten, Francisco, i, 187
Portell, Thomas, Commandant of New Madrid, i, 320; biographical notice of, 321, 334, 336; certifies what delayed building mills, 402; arrests Mitchell, ii, 4; letter to Carondelet, 21; letter to Lorimier, 45; writes Lorimier that he has no feeling against him, 46, 53; sends for Lorimier, 59, 67 89; examines Lorimier's accounts, 91, 93; writes Major Doyle as to instructions to prevent troops going down Mississippi, 119, 121
Porsley, Juan Pedro, i, 184; note 9 as to, 189
Porten, Juan, i, 56
Posts, to be located on river to protect navigation of, i, 217
Potier, Louis, i, 102; note 25 as to, 105, 184; note 21 as to, 190
Pottowatomies, i, 44, 147, 175; ii, 94
Poulan, Juan, i, 329
Pourcelly, see Porsley
Pouree, Don Eugenio, i, 102; note 31 as to, 105; trades with the Republica in 1777, 139, 183; 213, note 6; promoted for services in conquest of post St. Joseph, 207, 224, 229, 241; dies, and Vasquez appointed captain, ii, 29
Poverty, of French Canadians, i, 154
Powder, not given as perquisite, i, 6; to be paid for, 6; how to be kept, 6; not to be sold to savages, 15; Loups complain that it is not good, ii, 68; mill, in Kentucky, 236
Poydras, Julian, ii, 343
Prairie du Rocher, i, xvii; i, 64
Pratte, Bernard, ii, 299
Pratte, Juan Baptiste, i, 56; biographical note 66 as to, 60, 88, 95, 103, 123
Pratte, Joseph, sub-lieutenant of first militia company of Ste. Genevieve, ii, 41, 367; note 55 as to, 371
Pratte, Monsieur, ii, 65
Presents, to be made Indians, i, 21, 44; how, 46; of food, 47; to Indians, no fixed rules in making, 65; to be made Indians, 75; no benefit to the king, 75; how to be distributed among Indians, 172; to Indians, 201; to Indians, a burden to royal treasury 202; great, made by English, 202; report of, made to Osages, 308; detailed list of, to Osages, ii, 310
Prices, scale of, to be charged for goods, i, 7; tariff of, in Indian trade must be observed, 14
Prieur, Noel Antoine, i, 335; note 22 as to, 339; petitions against Commercial Company, ii, 197
Primeau, Juan Baptiste, ii, 377; note 113 as to, 384
Prince, Thomas, charged with causing capture of boat of Madame Cruzat by false pretext, i, 224
Prince of Peace, see Duke of Alcudia, or Godoy
Principal chiefs, of forty tribes come to St. Louis in 1782, i, 209
Prisons, to be established in St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve, i, 82
Prisoners, nine captured by Colbert, delivered i, 219; held by Colbert, 230
Pritchett, Juan, ii, 393; note 34 as to, 399
Privileges, granted to Andre Todd, ii, 80
Probanche, Juan Baptiste, i, 185; note 53 as to, 192; see, Provenchere
Probo, Juan, i, 186; note 74 as to, 193
Probst, John, ii, 406
Procelly, Madame, widow, ii, 376; note 71 as to, 382
Productions in 1791, i, 326
Products of St. Louis, in 1791, i, 326
Promotions, for defense of St. Louis, i, 169
Property, captured by Colbert's band, how distributed, i, 227
Prospectus, to found a Republic on the Missouri, ii, 144
Prospero, Fray, i, 115
Protest, Spanish officials to, against English invasion of the Missouri, i, 24, 25, 26
Protestants, expelled by O'Reilly, i, 115
Proulz, Gabriel, petitions against Commercial Company, ii, 197
Proveauz, Juan, ii, 389; note 42 as to, ii, 392

Provenchere, Jean Baptiste, i, 94; i, 102; note 28 as to, 105; ii, 372; note 13 as to, 379
Provisions, to be supplied immigrants, i, 156; furnished Morgan by Perez, 313
Pu, see Pottowatomies
Pujol, see Buol
Pujol, see Ybol
Punishment, for retailing false rumors, i, 242; for crediting soldiers, 243; for horse-racing in the streets of St. Louis, 243; of slaves, 244; for allowing slaves to dress like savages, 245; for aiding deserters, 247; for allowing kids and goats to run at large in St. Louis, 246
Punta Cortada (Pointe Coupee) i, 3; note 7, parish of, i, 115; appraisal of property there, ii, 343

Q

Qelker, Leonard, ii, 406
Quadra, size of a, i, 10
Quebec, Mariana, widow, ii, 388
Quenal, Pedro, ii, 375; note 65 as to, 382; see Quesnal
Quesnal, Pierre, i, 184; note 4 as to, 189
Quicapa, or Kickapoos, i, 147
Quienal, see Quesnal
Quieri, Denoyer, i, 102
Quiersero, i, 102; note 20 as to, 105
Quimby, Robert, ii, 407; note 101 as to, 412
Quimby, Stephen, ii, 407
Quinet, Baptiste, i, 195
Quintals, shipped in 1774, i, 89
Quire, i, 122; note 7 as to, 123
Quitar, Pablo, i, 102; note 37 as to, 106

R

Racine, Francois, i, 328; arrives at Cape Girardeau, ii, 65, 393
Racine, Juan Baptiste, 328; ii, 393; note 30 as to, 398
Rakoon, Capt., a Loup chief, ii, 96 99
Rams, George, i, 336
Ramsay, Andrew, pere, ii, 403; note 6 as to, 408
Ramsay, Andrew, fils, ii, 403
Randel, Abraham, ii, 407
Randel, Anthony, ii, 404
Randel, Enos, pere, ii, 403
Randel, Enos, fils, ii, 404
Randel, James, ii, 404
Randel, Medad, ii, 404
Randel, Samuel, ii, 403; note 19 as to, 409
Randel, Mrs. Samuel, ii, 403
Rangest, Pedro, ii, 368; note 63 as to, 371
Raniska, a Shawnee, ii, 64
Rankin, David, i, 283
Raquete, i, 94
Rat, Mons. i, 56; note 59 as to, 60
Rate, Louis, i, 95; note 30 as to, 98; ii, 367, note 59 as to, 371
Rations, distributed to the men on voyage to the Missouri, i, 3
Ravel, Marc, i, 336; note 51, as to, 340
Rayen, James, ii, 393; note 33 as to, 399
Reaume, Jacob, i, 337; note 74 as to, 340
Rebels, of Natchez, i, 228
Recorder's office, provided by Morgan, i, 305
Red Banks, or Ecores Rouge, ii, 63
Reed, Guillaume, ii, 294; note 41 as to, 296
Reed, Samuel, i, 337
Rees, Aaron, i, 335; note 15 as to, 338
Rees, Azor, appointed to form a company of militia, at New Madrid, ii, 34
Rees, widow Azor, ii, 393; note 5 as to, 398
Regan, Don George, appointed ensign, ii, 38
Regiment of Louisiana, organized by O'Reilly, i, 62
Reihle, Antoine, ii, 159, 172; makes a report of the Commercial company, 177; petitions against the Commercial Company, 197, 299, 373; note 12 as to, 379
Reineau, Louis, ii, 377; note 104 as to, 384
Religion, given scant respect by the early French settlers, i, 70; religious opinions tolerated by France in Louisiana, 114; rivalry between the Jesuits and Capuchins, 114; religious laws and customs during French dominion described, 119; Episcopal report of state of, in 1797 ii, 220
Rendon, Don Francisco, Royal Intendant, i, 404

Renards, or Foxes, i, 44, 74, 146; ask to be taken under the protection of Spain, 202; ii, 50
Renaud, i, 88; note 17 as to, 90, 94
Renaud, Louis, i, 185; note 45 as to, 192
Reply, to the Memorial, against the Commercial Company, ii, 197
Report, of Rui as to Illinois country, i, 62; of Piernas as to the Illinois country to O'Reilly, 80; of de Leyba as to troubles with the Osages, 163; of the capture of Madame Cruzat, 211, 214; of Morgan's party as to the country explored, 279; Morgan's plans exaggerated in, 295; of Trudeau, as to the census of 1791, 322; as to Illinois country, ii, 247; of the operations of the Spanish Commercial Company, 177; of presents to Osages, 308
Republica (Indians) trade with in 1777, i, 139
Requar, i, 150; note 3; see Ricar
Residence, of Governor in fort on Missouri, i, 51
Resmemier, F., i, 336
Resistance, to English invasion, how to be managed, i, 25
Revolution, changed conditions in America, ii, 11
Revolutionary Legion, Clark in command of, ii, 24, 26
Reynal, Dr Antonio, i, 101; note 8 as to, 104; petitions against Commercial Company, ii, 197, 374; note 39 as to, 381
Reward, Colbert protests against, offered for heads of individuals, i, 219
Rhea, James, i, 283, note 10
Ribar, Joseph, i, 188; note 142 as to, 196
Ribet, Jos., i, 185; note 58 as to, 192
Ricar, Trompe, i, 102; note 22 as to, 105, 125, 150; ii, 84, 87, 365; note 8 as to 369
Ricard, Pedro, ii, 374; note 42 as to, 381
Ricaras, Indian tribe, ii, 189
Rice, Daniel, ii, 396
Rice, Juan, ii, 396
Richard, Barthelemi, a spy, ii, 72, 74, 84, 92
Richard, Juan Baptiste, i, 328
Ride (Louis), i, 56; note 9 as to, 57, 88, 188; note as to, 138; as to, 196
Ride, Lorenzo, i, 188
Rideau, Joseph, ii, 394; note 54 as to, 399
Rigauche, Madame, widow, ii, 373; note 24 as to, 380
Ring, or Rinz, Joseph, ii, 374; note 41 as to, 381
Rio Bravo, ii, 356
Rion, Jean, i, 94; note 11 as to, 96
Riquar, Tropez, i, 93; see Ricar
Rivat, Joseph, 196; ii, 389; note 41 as to, 392
River, of the Big Osages, i, 63
Rivero, Marcos, ii, 2
Riviere, dit Baccane, Antoine, biog. notice of, i, 102, 188, 195, 377; ii, 377; note as to, 103, 384
Riviere, Philip. i, 188; ii, 376; note 73 as to, 382
Rivell, Juan, i, 338; note as to, 341
Rivera, Baptiste, i, 188
Rivet, Joseph, biog. notice of, i, 192
Robberies on the Mississippi, i, 210
Robert, Hypolite, i, 56; note 65 as to, 60, 88, 123; ii, 367; note 61 as to, 371, 378; note 144 as to, 385
Robert, Louis, ii, 378; note 143 as to, 385
Robert, ii, 294; note 30 as to, 296
Robertson, Gen. James, biographical notice of, ii, 19; furnishes the Indians a cannon, 21, 64, 112, 119; sends troops to Barrancas à Margot, 120
Robertson, Randolph, son of James, ii, 21
Robidoux, Joseph, i, 187; note 104 as to, 194; member of the Commercial Company, ii, 159, 299; appointed to examine damage to barracks of St. Louis, 269, 299, 311, 375; note 49 as to, 381
Robidoux, G. F., signs a remonstrance against Commercial Company, ii, 197
Robinette, i, 123
Robinette, Louis, i, 102; note 42 as to, 106
Rocheblave, Philip de, i, 87; note 1 as to, 89; mentioned by Piernas, 70; biog. sketch of, 70; letter from Cruzat to, 136; reply of, 137
Rocky Mountains, Spanish explorers reach, ii, 192
Rodriguez, Bartoleme, i, 334; note 10 as to, 338
Rodriguez, Francisco, ii, 213
Rodgers, Andeston, ii, 407; note 88 as to, 412

Rodney, Martin, ii, 404; note 27 as to, 409
Rogers, a Shawnee chief, at Cape Girardeau, ii, 66, 67
Rogers, Col., in command at Kaskaskia in 1780, i, 179
Rohzer, David, ii, 294
Rolet, Madame, i, 102; note 38 as to, 106
Rolette, Carlos, i, 103; note 55 as to, 106
Rompre, Francois, i, 56; note 52 as to, 60, 86; note 41 as to, 91
Rondeau, or Rondo (Langlois), i, 104; note 19 as to, 105; trades with Big Osages, i, 139
Roque, Augustin, ii, 373; note 19 as to, 379
Rose, Guillermo, ii, 396
Rosier, i, 122; note 2 as to, 123
Ross, David, i, 226
Ross, William, ii, 407; note 96 as to. 412
Roster of the Spanish militia of 1780, of St. Louis, i, 182
Rotard (Motard) Joseph, ii, 375; note 51 as to, 381
Roubieu, Don Gaspar, i, 188; note 117 as to, 195; ii, 373; note 8 as to, 379
Rouge, or Rouhst, ii, 367; note 53 as to, 371
Rouoin, Nicolas, ii, 367
Rousseau, Don Andres, a son of Pedro, ii, 325
Rousseau, Don Pedro, i, 410, 412; ii, 4, 7; at Barrancas à Margot, 25; his squadron returns to New Orleans, 89, 90, 91; clears ground for fort at Barrancas à Margot, 114, 119, 121; his services at Pensacola, 323; at Barrancas à Margot, ii, 324; in capturing Bowles, 324, 325
Roussel, Antoine, i, 185; note 37 as to, 191; see Sansouci
Routier, i, 94
Rover, Louis, i, 186
Rovinet, Louis, i, 94; note 18 as to, 96; see Robinette
Rowen, Rose, ii, 395
Rowers, number of, on boats up to the Missouri, i, 1
Roy, i, 88, 94, 102
Roy, Antoine, i, 54
Roy, Carlos, i, 187; ii, 378; note 135 as to, 385
Roy, Joachim, i, 189
Roy, Joaquin, ii, 376; note 78 as to, 383
Roy, Joseph, ii, 376
Roy, Julian, ii, 376; note 74 as to, 382
Roy, Nicolas, i, 184; note 3 as to, 189
Roy, Pedro, i, 57, 88, 95, 103, 187; ii, 376; note 72 as to, 382, 389
Roy, Rene, biog. note, i, 189
Royal buildings, at New Madrid, valuation of, ii, 336
Royal effects, attached at Paincourt, i, 68
Royal exchequer, not responsible for building mills, i, 403
Royal Charlotte, a brig loaded with flour of Oliver Pollock, i, 204
Royal roads to be wide and straight, i, 10
Royal treasury, reimbursed for money paid on account of mills, i, 409
Royer, Nicolas, ii, 389; note 46 as to, 392
Rubio, see Roubieu
Rubric, a part of signature, i, 19
Ruddell, George, i, 337; ii, 395; note 120 as to, 402
Rui, Francisco, commands expedition to the Missouri, i, 1; secret instructions to, 20; votes to change instructions of Ulloa, 31; removed from command, 33; regulations for the trade on the Missouri, 35, 38; reports names of soldiers and workmen on the Missouri working on forts, 42; delivers fort to Piernas, 42, 44, 49, 52; reports to the Conde de O'Reilly, 62, 67, 68, 75
Rumor, of peace between the colonies and England in 1780, i, 178; in Spanish possessions that the Americans has abandoned the eastern Illinois country, 180; that settlers there intended to send a courier to Detroit to give submission to England, 180; of failure of attack on Pensacola, 199; of disembarkation of the French on the St. Lawrence, 201; that Col. Clark would attack the Spanish Illinois with 600 men, 203; retailing false, punished, 241
Ruperez, Juan, i, 42
Russell, William, ii, 405; note 77 as to, 411
Ryan, James, a millwright, i, 401
Ryan, Michael, i, 337

S

Sabua, Juan Baptiste, i, 184
Sacristan, i, 117

Sacs, i, 44, 146; complimented for zeal in Spanish cause, 198; ii, 50
Saffray, Pedro, ii, 394; note 82 as to, 401
Sokakahibe, chief of the Panis, i, 144
Salary, of Lieutenant-Governor, i, 112; of officials in upper Louisiana, ii, 257
Salcedo, Don Manuel de, ii, 322; biographical note 1, 331, 343
Sale of land, Morgan plans to make, i, 295
Sale, Juan Baptiste, ii, 374; note 46 as to, 381
Saline, settlement of the Saltboilers on, i, 72; salt sold at lower rate to English on East side, 72, 282; report of Trudeau as to, ii, 250
Saltworks, i, 71
Salvé, shall be chanted on expedition to Missouri, i, 4
Sampson, Alexander, ii, 64, 75, 77, 393; note 20 as to, 398
Sanborn, Gabes, ii, 294
Sangerman, Joseph, ii, 377; note 124 as to, 384
Sanguinette, Carlos, i, 189; note 146 as to, 196; member of the Commercial Company, ii, 159; petitions against Commercial Company, 197; ii, 299, 374; note 40 as to, 381
Sansculottes, a society organized in St. Louis, ii, 125, 131
Sanselie, Joseph, i, 184; see Chancelier
Sansi, see St. Cyr
Sansouci or Sansy, i, 191; note 37; see Roussel
San Carlos del Misouri, population in 1791, i, 324
San Fernando, population in 1791, i, 324; population of in 1796, ii, 141; slaves of in 1796, 142; production of in 1796, 143; Trudeau's report as to, 249
San Francisco, Antonio, i, 188; note 135 to, 196
San Luis (St Louis), Census of 1772, i, 53; report of Rui as to, 63; report of Piernas as to, 72; Census of 1773, 61; Census of 1774, 86; Census of 1775, 100
San Pedro, same as Iowa River, i, 332; ii, 191
San Thelmo, De Lassus at assault of, ii, 339
Sante Fe trail, Pedro Vial marks out, i, xxiv; trip to Vial to St. Louis from, i, 350
Santa Genoveva, census of 1772, i, 53; of 1773, 61; of 1774, 86; of 1775, 92, 100
Santa Maria, see St. Marys
Santo Vin, i, 103; note 56 as to, 106; see Vincent Bouis
Sarpy, Gregoire, objects to Commercial Company, ii, 197, 299, 375
Sarpy (Juan Baptiste), advances money to pay troops, i, 200, note 10; security for loan to build flour mills, 395; makes good the loan, 409
Saucier, Francisco, ii, 87
Saugrain, Dr., i, 396
Sauteurs, i, 144, 147
Savages, to be employed in building forts, i, 7; to be treated as brothers, 10; easily affronted, 10; lose reason when affronted, 10; self interested, 11; chiefs to be honored, 11; to be kept peaceful, 12
Savannah, i, 226
Savoya, see Savoy
Savoy, Jean Baptiste, ii, 388; note 19 as to, 390
Savoy, Isadore, ii, 388; note 18 as to, 390
Savua-Rechika, a Shawnee, ii, 63
Saxton, Joseph, ii, 397
Scalps, how, when brought by Indians to Commandant, to be received, i, 46
Scioto Land Company, sketch of, note 1, i, 361; ii, 5
Scioto River, family of De Lassus on, ii, 239
Scheme to found a Republic on the Missouri, ii, 144
Schultz, Cristopher, ii, 387, and note 2
Sebastian, Monsieur, ii, 23
Seco, Yphe., a stone cutter, i, 43
Secret instructions, explanations of, i, 26, 27
Seed, of hemp scarce, i, 159
Seeley, Cornelius, i, 337; note 63 as to, 340
Segond, Joseph, i, 101; note 6 as to, 103; i, 129
Segond, Pablo, i, 55, 87, 93
Seguin, Jaime, i, 329; note 40 as to, 331
Semple, David, ii, 396
Senecal, Juan Baptiste, ii, 389; note 27 as to, 391
Senior Warden of Church, character of his office, i, 117
Septlivres, Isaac, i, 54

Sepulture, within church, for governor, priests, and those who pay 100 pesos to support it, i, 119
Seraphim, Ambrosio, ii, 394; note 68 as to, ii, 400
Seraphine, Agnes, ii, 395; note 94 as to, 401
Settlement about forts, how to be located, i, 16; on Missouri established by Mackay, ii, 253
Sexton, Daniel, ii, 407; note 98 as to, 412
Sharadin, Henry, ii, 304; note 57 as to, 411
Shawnees, i, 209; ii, 50; to be urged to make war on Osages, 53; urged to remain firm friends of the Spaniards, 55; camp of, 59, 60; believe that the French are coming, 62, 63; come to the West bank of river, 63, 85, 87; arrive at Cape Girardeau from New Madrid, 92; leave Cape Girardeau to go to St. Louis, 92; go to St. Louis, 92; ask for corn, 99, 306, 320
Shelby, David, i, 337; note 93 as to, i, 341; ii, 395
Sherrette, Isadore, i, 337; note 83 as to, 341
Shiro, George, i, 337; note 94 as to, 341
Shreeve, Colonel, i, 283
Shreeve, Israel, i, 283, 301
Siebert, Phillip, ii, 394; note 78 as to, 401
Signals, in case St. Louis is attacked, i, 241
Silch, Waaling, ii, 396; note 128 as to, 402
Simono, i, 88, 94; note 13 as to, 93
Simoneau, Carlos, 185; note 63 as to, 192; ii, 373; note 15 as to, ii, 379; see Simono
Simoneau, Francois, i, 89, 95; note 31 as to, 98, 366; note 31 as to, ii, 370
Simpson, Jeremiah, ii, 403; note as to, 408
Sinnade, see Sumande
Sincaps, Joseph, ii, 395
Sioux, i, 44; numerous in 1777, 145, 176; ii, 189
Si[illegible], or Sears, James, ii, 396
Situado, meaning of word, i, 161
Slaves, brought to Louisiana on account of ordinances of 1787, i, xxi; in St. Louis, in 1772, 54; in Ste. Genevieve, 54; not allowed to dress like Indians, 244; not allowed to visit at nights, 244; in 1791, 325; unruly conduct of, punished, 244; number of, in New Madrid in 1797, ii, 397
Slinker, Frederick, ii, 407
Slinker, Mrs. ii, 406
Sliter, Juan, ii, 396
Small-pox, among Miamies at Kaskaskia, ii, 53
Smith, Frank, i, 336
Smith, General Dan, i, 208
Smith, imprisoned by Grand Pre with Partier and others, i, 216
Smith, John, i, 220
Smith, Jacobo, ii, 395
Smith, Willman, ii, 407; note 83 as to, 412
Smith, William (Tywappity), ii, 406
Soldener, widow, ii, 394
Soldiers, when enlistment expires, to be induced to remain in settlements, i, 16; what to receive annually in the way of clothing, 80; where stationed, 218; only allowed to make a limited indebtedness, 243; in fort among Osages, pay of, ii, 102
Sokakahige, chief of the Panis, i, 144
Soler, Don Antonio, ii, 7
Sole, Francisco, sailor, i, 43
Sollin, Alexander Augustus, ii, 396
Sommer, Juan, ii, 395; note 105 as to, 401
Soncha, Thomas, ii, 387
Soniat, Charles T., i, 2
Sonora, Marquis de; see Don Joseph de Galvez
Sons, Felix J., i, 336
Soulard, Antonio, ii, 131, 299; his services, 327
Sorrel, Joseph, ii, 374; note 38 as to, ii, 381
Sorret, Pedro, i, 186
Sound River, or Chepousa, or St. John's Bayou, i, 280
South Carolina Land Company, i, 208
South Sea, hope for discovery of, ii, 10
Spain, does not intend to molest Americans in their trade, ii, 75
Spaniards, fear an American fort at Barrancas à Margot, ii, 111
Spaniards, immigration of, favored, i, 154; prohibited from entering English territory, i, xix
Spanish, apprehension of peace between England and colonies, i, 178; authorities investigate attack on Indians by Americans, 217; Com-

mandants, ability of, i, xxv; Commandants, complaints of Indians against them ii, 94; Commercial Company fails, i, xxiii; Commercial Company, 148; Commercial Company ruins many merchants who engaged in, 254
Spanish Illinois, at first separated by the Missouri, i, xvii
Spanish, infantry landed at New Orleans, i, xvi; language, to be employed in parish records, 120; all contracts must be in, 205; medals, 175; policy, as to settlements to be made near fort, 8; possessions, 12; settlers, must not trade with English, 12; English settlements on East side of river, 74; political, agent to be maintained at Ste. Genevieve, 83
Spencer, Benjamin, ii, 294; petitions against Commercial Company, 197
St. Andres, Mackay, appointed Commandant of, ii, 245
St. Ange, recognized as in command in the Illinois by Spaniards, i, xvii, xviii; to be consulted, i, 5; treated by Spaniards as Commandant of the Illinois country, i, 20; his advice to be followed in treating with Indians, i, 22; trade permits by, recognized by Rui, i, 35; certificate to Rui's administration, i, 39, 44, 63; received Fort el Principe, 67; estimate of, by Piernas, 73; good relations to be maintained with him by Spanish officials, 83; 128, 200
St. Aubin, Joseph, i, 95; note 28 as to, 98, 251
St. Aubin, Jean Baptiste, i, 328; note 34 as to, 331
St. Aubin, Louis, i, 328; ii, 394; note 60 as to, 400
St. Charles, Parish of, i, 115; slaves in 1791, 325; products of in 1791, 326; officers appointed of the militia, ii, 30; slaves of in 1796, 142; productions of in 1796, 143; population of in 1796, 141.
St. Cyr, Hiacinthe, ii, 299,374; note 28 as to, 380
St. Francoise, Antoine, i, 188; note 135 as to, 196
St. Ferdinand, products of in 1791, i, 326; slaves in 1791, 325
Ste. Genevieve, i, xvi; 20; report of Rui as to, 62; described by Piernas, 70; a special political agent at, 83; habitants remonstrate against tithes, 121; extra allowance to priest of, 125, 127, 130; 163; detachment ascends the river, 201, 230; overflowed by Mississippi 235; population in 1791, 324; slaves in 1792, 325; products of in 1791, 326; population of in 1796, ii, 141; slaves of in 1796, 142; production of in 1796, 143; not visited by Bishop, 220; Trudeau's report as to, 248
St. Gem Beauvais, greatly esteemed by the savages, ii, 66
St. Jean, Louis, ii, 397
St. John's Bayou, Tardiveau & Co. mill built on, i, 401
St. Joseph, conquest of post of, i, 207; capture of, ii, 128
St. Louis, established after the cession of Louisiana to Spain, i, xvi; known at first as Paincourt or Pencour, 20, 74, or Pancorto, 116; traders of, petition Rui, 37; traders of, attach royal effects, 68; how located, 72; militia of, 81; prison to be built in, 82; parish of known as San Luis de los Ylinneses, 116; attacked by the English and Indians, 167; roster of the militia of, 182; local ordinances of, made by Cruzat, 240; fortifications of, 271; population of in 1791, 324; slaves of in 1791, 325; report as to fortifications of, 342; in 1793 diminished daily in importance, 343; troops at and munitions of war, ii, 124; defense of, against English attack, importance of, 127; plan for defence, 133; capital of upper Louisiana, 137; population in 1796, 142; productions of in 1796, 143; not visited by the Bishop, 220; importance of, in opinion of Carondelet, 231; plan for defence by General Collot, 232; Trudeau's report as to, 248
St. Marie, Stephan, i, 328; ii, 62
St. Marie, Joseph, i, 328
St. Marys, Estevan, ii, 394; note 57 as to, 400
St. Marys, Francois, ii, 80, 81, 393; note 12 as to 398
St. Marys, Joseph, ii, 393; note 9 as to, 398
St. Rose, i, 199
St. Vrain, ii, 298, 311
Statement of Pedro Foucher in regard to his accounts, ii, 214
Stephen, Johann, i, 337; note 89 as to, 341
Steward, John, i, 283

Stillman, Samuel, i, 283
Stockley, Francisco, i, 329; note 51 as to, 331
Stoddard, Capt. Amos, ii, 332, 333, 347
Stodeland, Heliel, i, 337; note 86 as to, 341
Stoffle, Henrico, ii, 396
Storekeeper, at the Spanish forts absconds, i, xiii
Story, Joseph, i, 319; biographical note of, 321; ii, 393; note 7 as to, 398
Stotler, Adam, ii, 406
Stotler, Conrad, ii, 406
Stotler, Peter, ii, 406
Stout, Ephraim, ii, 407; note 84 as to, 412
Stridey, Juan, ii, 396
Strother, Samuel, ii, 403; note 23 as to, 409
Strother, William, ii, 403
Stule, Stephen, ii, 343
Suares, Jose Maria, a carpenter, i, 2
Subtil, Nicolas, ii, 396
Sueldo, originally a small Roman coin, and means wages, i, 126
Sumande, Estaban, i, 184; note 14 as to, 190
Sumande, Joseph, i, 184; note 15 as to, 190; ii, 388; note 7 as to, 390
Summary of population of New Madrid in 1797, ii, 397
Summers, Andrew, ii, 404
Summers, John, i, 336; note 48 as to, 340; fils, i, 404; pere, ii, 404; note 38 as to, 410
Sunday, mass shall be said on expedition to Missouri, i, 4
Superior Council of Illinois, orders royal goods attached, i, xviii
Superior Council of Louisiana, orders Ulloa to depart, i, xvi
Survey, as planned by Morgan of his colony, i, 299
Surveyor, a position of high standing in United States, ii, 6
Susan, Madame, ii, 323
Swivel guns, two, i, 162

T

Tabo, Jacobo, i, 189; note 97 as to, 194
Tabeau, Hubert, ii, 377; note 100 as to, 384
Tachinouza, see Takinantha
Tagos, Andres, ii, 40
Taillon, Mons., i, 88
Taillon, or Tayon, Joseph, ii, 373; note 2 as to, 379
Takinantha, or Capt. Allen, a Delaware chief, ii, 321
Tallon, i, 56, biog. note 15 as to, 58
Tallon, Don Carlos, ii, 375
Tallon, Joseph, son, ii, 376; note 90 as to, 383
Tamanend, Indian name of Morgan, i, 287
Tanglice, i, 122; note 6 as to, 123
Tanniss, Don Juan Baptista, appointed sub-lieutenant of Ste. Genevieve militia, ii, 40
Tardiveau, Barthelemi, his letter to Count Aranda, i, 359; plans a French colony in upper Louisiana, 359; seeks to divert the French emigrants from the Scioto to Louisiana, 364; makes contract for building flour mills, 373; fails to fulfill contract for building mills, 400; amount advanced to him and associates repaid by Sarpy, 409; ii, 51; at New Madrid, 90; 393; note 23 as to, 398
Tariff of prices, how fixed, i, 14
Taw, Jose, i, 320
Tayon, see Tallon
Tayon, i, 94
Tayon, Don Carlos, i, 183, 186; note 67 as to, 192, 207, 241; his services mentioned by Carondelet, ii, 128
Taylor, Capt., i, 283
Taylor, Guillermo, ii, 396
Tela, Charles, i, 337; note 57 as to, 340
Tellier, Juan, i, 89
Tembal, Juan Pablo, i, 180
Teneroso, Joseph, i, 184
Teserreau, Joseph, see Tissereau
Tessier, Joseph, i, 189; note 144 as to, 196
Testaments, duty to make, to be impressed on sick persons, i, 245
Tewanaye, Indian sentenced to death, ii, 320
Thagua, Antonio, a bricklayer, i, 45
Thimouse, a Loup Indian, ii, 86
Thiriet, or Thiriot, Claude, ii, 395
Thiries, Juan, ii, 394; note 49 as to, 399
Thomas, Judge, goes to St. Clair County up the river, ii, 98; note, 89
Thomas, a fugitive from Illinois, i, 222

Thompson, Isaac, biog. note of, i, 319; note 7 as to, 321; ii, 394; note 58 as to, 400
Thompson, Jaque, ii, 293; note 28 as to, 296
Thompson Jeremiah, ii, 403; note 17 as to, 409
Thompson, John, ii, 403; note 18 as to, 409
Thompson, Joseph, i, 335; note 14 as to, 338; ii, 403; note 21 as to, 409
Thorn, Solomon, ii, 403; note 4 as to, 408
"The Chute," stands for Falls of the Ohio, ii, 72
The Crow, or Le Corbeau, a highly regarded Loup chief, ii, 67
Tibeau, or Tibo, or Thibault, Joseph, i, 187; note 87 as to, 193; ii, 389; note 26 as to, 391
Tienda, Francisco, i, 42
Timber, in the New Madrid district, i, 282
Tinon, Mons., i, 102; note 11 as to, 104
Tinon, Claude, ii, 378; note 132 as to, 385
Tipus, Christopher, ii, 396
Tiralt, Irard, widow, i, 95
Tirat, widow, i, 89; note 42 as to, 91
Tirarde, widow, i, 105; note 57 as to, 106
Tison, Juan Baptiste, ii, 374; note 30 as to, 380
Tison, Louis, expert appointed to examine barracks at St. Louis, ii, 269
Tissereau, Joseph, ii, 293; note 3 as to, 295, 366; note 34 as to, 370, see Tessereau
Tithes, inhabitants of Ste. Genevieve object to, i, 121; collection of, not allowed under the laws of Spain, 125
Tiyon (Tayon)
Tobacco, painted red, a war symbol, ii, 68, 99
Todd, Andrew, English merchant, ii, 180; granted exclusive trade by Spaniards on upper Mississippi, 255; dies at New Orleans, 254
Tonnelier, Louis, ii, 293, 298, 366
Torrance, Francois, i, 336
Tourner, Juan (see Turner), i, 220
Tousnay, Francois Xavier, i, 336, note 37 as to, 339
Trade, Certain, reserved to the Commandants with the savages, i, 14; how trade, with savages managed, 14; regulations on the Missouri, 35; with Osages forbidden, 255; exclusive trade with the Ponkas, ii, 3; exclusive trade asked for by the Chouteaus, 101; Lorimier assigned permit to trade with Shawnees and Loups, 50; exclusive trade among Osages granted the Chouteaus, 108; of the Illinois country, according to Trudeau, 251
Traders, in settlements, rules as to, must marry, i, 16; enjoined not to act the tyrant when trading with Indians 36; of St. Louis not permitted to trade on the Missouri, 37; when robbed by Indians, what the duty of Commandant, 47; benefited by presents made to the Indians, 75; not allowed to trade with the English, 77; not to be engaged as traders unless residing in the country, 248
Trading permits, perquisites of the Lieutenant-Governor, i, 258
Tranquillity of Indians, to be watched, i, 239
Trang, John, i, 338
Trappers, killed by Osages, i, 150
Trary, James, i, 338; note 96 as to, 341
Treatment, of Indians, must be decisive, i, 163
Treaty, for location for Barrancas à Margot, ii, 118
Trees, Morgan orders, on roads and public places to be preserved, i, 305
Trezay, Juan, Spanish postman, ii, 298
Trinchard, a carpenter, ii, 338
Troge, Pedro, biog. note of, ii, 30; appointed Lieutenant of St. Charles militia, 30; ii, 369; note 32 as to, 391
Trois Riviere, i, 198
Troops, to be employed in clearing ground for forts on Missouri, i, 7; to be kept under discipline, 79; where to be stationed 79; how to be equipped, 80; American, not allowed to pass down the Mississippi by the Spaniards, 120; to be quartered in houses in St. Louis, ii, 125
Trope, see Ricar
Tropez, batteau of, ii, 84, 87
Tros, Isaac, i, 189; note 148 as to, 196
Trudeau, Zenon, reports as to fortifications at St. Louis, i, 345;

reports Vial's tour from Sante Fe, 351, 352; interviewed by Tardiveau, 359; writes Lorimier to observe the Loups, ii, 47, 54, 56, 65; assembles six tribes to harangue them, 69, 70, 74; gives Lorimier permit to trade at Cape Girardeau, 47, 76; makes a report of the Chouteaus offering to build a fort among Osages, 101, 126, 128; his condescension to Collot, 129; permits a meeting to organize the Commercial Company, 148, 157; reports that Mackay took possession of his post San Andres, 245; his detailed report concerning the Illinois country, 247; states the losses of the Spanish Commerical Company, 254; thinks upper Louisiana must be peopled from the United States, 255; commends American settlers of upper Louisiana, 256
Trudeau, Madame, arrives at Cape Girardeau, ii, 73
Trudeau, Juan, ii, 376; note 89 as to, 383
Trudeau, Louis, i, 56; note 55 asto, 60
Trudeau, widow, i, 95
Truley, Madame, ii, 230
Trust, Isaac, i, 196; note 148
Truteau, Jean Baptiste, i, 188 note 136, 196; agent of the Spanish Commercial Company, ii, 164
Tucker, Juan, ii, 396
Tuiret, Alexis, i, 337; note 56 as to, 340
Turnbull, Don Juan, ii, 116
Turner, John, or Tourner, i, 213; note 3
Two Barrancas, the second called Dumilien, ten leagues above first, i, 226
Tyler, Thomas, ii, 387, and note 1

U

Ubalde, Dan Thomas, i, 184; note 11 as to, 190; ii, 388; note 25 as to, 391
Ugulayacabe, a Chickasaw chief, ii, 26; name means "The Wolf's friend," note 4, 27, 114; grants Spaniards a site for the fort of Barrancas à Margot, 116, 118
Ulabaro, Jose, a stone cutter, i, 2
Ulloa, Don Antonio de, biog. note of, i, 1; sends an expedition up the Mississippi, 1; his instructions to Rui, 1; in 1767, married the Marchioness de Abrado at Balize, 28; reports to, of disorders at the Missouri fort, 32; orders Rui to deliver fort to Piernas, 49, 63, 66, 115, xii, xiii, xiv
Unanguise, a chief of the Pottowatomies, i, 147
United States, movements to be observed by Spanish officers, i, 238
Unot, i, 102; note 17 as to, 104
Unruh, or Ungu, or Onraw, i, 334; note as to, 338
Upper Louisiana, advantages of, for settlement, i, 386
Unzaga y Amezaga, Louis de, i, 92; biog. sketch of, note 2; 111, 121, 131, 132, 163, 204; prohibits the collection of tithes at Ste. Genevieve, i, 125
Upton, see Opton
Utopian scheme, to found a commonwealth on the Missouri, ii, 144

V

Vagabonds, or wanderers, described by Piernas, i, 71
Vaget, i, 102; note 26 as to, 105
Vachard, Antoino, ii, 395
Vachard, Louis, i, 102
Vachard, Madame, widow, ii, 375, note 67 as to, 382
Vacz, a Fleming, i, 396
Valleau, Don Julia Baptiste, surgeon of the expedition to the Missouri, i, 2
Valle, i, 193; to harangue the Indians, ii, 69, 74, 75, 76, 80, 81, 82, 84, 96
Valle, Alexandro, i, 186; note 73 as to, 193
Valle, Alexis, ii, 388; note 15 as to, 390
Valle, Don Carlos, i, 88, 94, 102, 184; note 48 as to, 192; ii, 365; note 13 as to, 369, 378; note 137 as to, 385, 388
Valle, Don Francisco, i, 54; biog. sketch, note 4, 55, 56; note 44 as to, 59, 87, 94, 102, 126, 127, 128, 130, 135; praised by Galvez, 173, 179, 224, 229; appointed sub-lieutenant of the first Ste. Genevieve militia company, ii, 40; letter to Lorimier to watch the Indians, 46, 60, 66, 67, 68; saluted by the Indi-

ans at Cape Girardeau with salvos of musketry, 72, 74, 78, 126; Carondelet describes his qualities, 130; petitions against the Spanish Commercial Company, 197; Trudeau's comment on him, 248, 299, 366
Valle, Don Juan Baptiste, troops retire to his house in overflow, i, 235; captain of Ste. Genevieve company, ii, 41, 365, 389
Valle, Joseph, killed by the Indians at Mine la Motte, ii, 375; note 55 as to, 381
Valle, Louise Marie, i, 149
Valle, Nicolas, i, 102
Valle, jun., i, 123
Vanburken, Guillaume, ii, 293
Vandenbenden, i, 395; ii, 74, 84; takes dispatches from Lorimier to Portell, 67
Vandenbenden, Joseph, ii, 393; note 26 as to, 398
Vandenbenden, Louis, engineer, for building fortifications at St. Louis, ii, 127, 131, 137, 226, 393; note 24 as to, 398
Van Idestine, Pedro, ii, 395; note 122 as to, 402
Varela, Don Joseph, cadet, makes plan of fort, i, 40, 42
Vasseur, Regis, ii, 375; note 63 as to, 381
Vasquez, Don Benito, i, 54; biog. sketch of and family, note 3, 87, 101; praised by Galvez, 173, 182, 183, 204; appointed Captain of the St. Louis militia, ii, 29, 299, 311, 373; note 9 as to, 379
Vassals, rumor, that settlers on East side sent courier to Detroit to become English, i, 180
Vaughn, Daniel, ii, 296
Vaughn, Samuel, i, 221, 319
Vaugine, Francisco, ii, 342, 343
Venganza, a galley, ii, 126
Venzan, Antonio, i, 187; note 85 as to, 193
Verdon, Joseph, i, 186; note 70 as to, 193; ii, 375; note 52 as to, 381
Verdon, Madame, ii, 375
Verdor, a church official, dressed in uniform, i, 117
Verie, Francisco, i, 184
Vermelde, Pedro, i, 103
Vermillion, with tobacco, painted red, a symbol of war, ii, 68
Vial, Pedro, marks out trail from Santa Fe to St. Louis, i, xxiii; his Journal, 350; captured by the Canzes, 357; his march, compare with route of Coronado, 358, note 9
Vicar, of Bishop, authority, of i, 118
Victorino, Antonio, a smith, i, 45
Vidla, Joseph, ii, 7, 287; biog. notice of, 291
Vidau, Pedro, i, 56; note 63 as to, 60
Vifvarenne, Françoise, i, 191
Vifvarenne, Jean Baptiste, i, 189; note 10 as to, 190
Vignon, Andres, i, 56; note 72 as to, 60, 89, 95; note 34 as to, 98, 123
Vigo, Francois, i, 184; note 18 as to, 190
Village, of Missouris, 142; of Hotos, location of i, 143
Vilar, Enrique, ii, 343
Villaneuva, Carlos, i, 329; note 39 as to, 331
Villaneuva, Joseph Vincent, accompanies Vial, i, 353
Villars, Don Baltasar, i, 149, 150; stationed at Arkansas Post, 216; Commandant of, 227, 230, 232
Villars, Francisco, i, 188
Villars, John, i, 320
Villars, Don Louis, i, 216, 229, 232
Villars, Louis DuBruil de, i, 149
Villars, Madame, i, 225
Villars, Mattheu, i, 320
Ville, Don Jose de Gontin de, ii, 123, 125, 130
Villebeuvre, Don Juan de la, ii, 138
Villeron, Jacobo, i, 102
Villiers, Elizabeth de, i, 200
Villiers, Noyon de, i, 200
Vincennes, i, 180, 205, 280; maneuvres at, ii, 59
Vincent, Antonio, ii, 373; note 16 as to, 379
Vior, Louis, i, 185
Viot, Juan, ii, 395; note 110 as to, 401
Visits, of English on the East bank of river, by Spanish officers, i, 13
Vives, Pedro, ii, 396
Vizonette, or Bissonnette, Andres, i, 185; note 52 as to, 192
Vizonette, Baptiste, i, 196
Vizonette, Francisco, i, 185; note 64 as to, 192
Vizonete, Pedro, i, 185; note 52 as to, 192
Volsay, Francois de, 94, 102; note 14 as to, 104, 200
Volsay, de Madame, i, 200, her residence in New Orleans, note 9

Voyage, time usually consumed in making from New Orleans to St. Louis, i, 197; quick voyage of Cruzat, 197

W

Wages, paid with merchandize, i, 7
Wailabey, a nephew of Ugulayacabe, ii, 27
Waldo, John, i, 336; note 29 as to 339
Waldy, see Ubaldo
Walis, Jules, ii, 395; note 103 as to, 401
Walker, Benjamin, ii, 293
Wallace, see Walis
Waller, Joseph, ii, 404; note 40 as to, 410
Walloon Guards, De Lassus serves in, i, 375, ii, 239
Walls, Samuel, ii, 395
Walton, Juan, ii, 385; note 107 as to, 401
War-contributions, to aid Spain, list of, i, 292
Ward, John, i, 283, 317
Watauga, ii, 19
Water mill, at New Madrid, i, 379
Waters, Richard Jones, appointed Captain of the New Madrid militia, ii, 36; appointed Lieutenant of militia, 33, 120, 393; note 2 as to, 398
Wayne, Gen., ii, 28; army of, assembled at Georgetown, 92, 94
Weaver, James, ii, 403; note 14 as to, 408
Weights and measures, Spanish to be used, i, 15
Welker, Jacob, ii, 407
Wellborn, Curtis, ii, 407, note 114 as to, 413
Wellborn, Jonathan, ii, 407
Wellborn, James, ii, 407
Wellborn, Thomas, ii, 407; note 95 as to, 412
Wert, Henry, i, 337
West Florida, an English sloop, ii, 323
Westbrook, Ricardo, ii, 396
Westover, Job, ii, 294; note 43 as to, 296
Wheat, to be imported if not sufficient for milling in Louisiana, i, 382
Wherry, Mackay, ii, 299
Wherry, Mackey, petitions against Commercial Company, ii, 197
Whiskey, ii, 81
White, David, i, 337
White, Robert, 321; ii, 395
Wieffermueller, i, 336, note 45 as to, 340
Wilkins, Col., i, 64; biog. sketch of, note 8
Wilkinson, Gen. James, i, 208, 209; makes secret representations against Morgan, 276; his threat to force a passage down the Mississippi, 288; ii, 23
Williams, William, ii, 404; note 42 as to, 410
Williamson, Mrs., ii, 407; note 102 as to, 412
Wills, duty of, where persons about to die, i, 245
Wilson, Andres, ii, 394; note 70 as to, 401
Wilson, George, i, 336; note 26 as to, 339; presents a passport at Cape Girardeau, ii, 89; arrives from the Cherokee river, 90, 394; note 44 as to, 399
Winfree, Jacobo, i, 220
Winnebagoes, i, 146
Winsor, Christopher, i, 320, 321; ii, 395
Winsor, Elisha, i, 320; note 29 as to, 321
Witt, John, i, 337
Wittaker, Elijah, ii, 405
Wolsey, Thomas, ii, 407; note 109 as to, 413
Wood, Maria, ii, 397
Woods, Guillaume, i, 337; note 61 as to, 340
Wooster, Capt., ii, 5
Work, of Morgan's party at New Madrid, i, 281
Workmen, marriage of, favored, i, 8, 9
Worthington, Joseph, ii, 403; note 24 as to, 406; note 79 as to, 413

Y

Yazoo, i, 412; ii, 116
Ybol, Pedro, ii, 388; note 20 as to, 391
Yngles, or English, Richard, ii, 378; note 150 as to, 386
Yosti, Emilian, petitions against the Commercial Company, ii, 197, 373; note 20 as to, 380
Young, Joseph, ii, 405; note 74 as to, 411
Young, Morris, ii, 405
Young, Philip, ii, 405
Yrujo, Don Carlos, ii, 226